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THE  
**TRIBES AND CASTES**  
OF  
**BOMBAY**  
R.E. ENTHOVEN

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For Reference See Pages: 2

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The Tribes and Castes of Bombay -  
Volume II

Scanned Pages:

- 1) 134 to 157: Kanbis
- 2) 217 to 230: Khojahs
- 3) 343 to 377: Lingayats

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# THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY

R.E. ENTHOVEN

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II



ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES  
NEW DELHI ★ MADRAS ★ 1990

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Name and origin. **KANBIS** <sup>(1)</sup> number 924,921 (1901), including 474,371 males and 450,550 females.

The term Kanbi merely indicates the occupation of a cultivator; but the majority of Gujarát Kanbis are probably Gujars in origin, and in this differ markedly from the Kunbi of the Deccan and Konkan, who is, for the most part, of common stock with the Marátha.

All Ahmádábád Kanbis are addressed as Pátidárs, a title of distinction. In Kaira (Charotar) only Levás are called Pátidárs, others being termed simply Kanbis. Other titles commonly used are Desái, Amin and Patel.

Endo-gamous divisions.

Kanbis have seven endogamous divisions. They are :—

- |            |            |              |
|------------|------------|--------------|
| (1) Anjna. | (4) Kadva. | (7) Momna.   |
| (2) Dángi. | (5) Leva.  | (8) Pattani. |
| (3) Gujar. | (6) Matia. | (9) Uda.     |

Of the above divisions, Levás and Kadvás eat together, but do not intermarry. Udás do not interdine or intermarry with any other division. Pattanis eat with Levás and Kadvás, but do not marry with them. Levás and Kadvás do not associate with Matiás, Anjnás, Momnás, and Dángis, and, except that Anjnás and Dángis eat together, none of these divisions interdine or intermarry.

In religion, ceremonies and customs, the Levás, Kadvás, Anjnás Dángis, Udás and Pattanis differ only in a few details. The Matiás and Momnás, who are half Hindus half Musalmáns, differ considerably from the other divisions and from one another. The points common to Levás, Kadvás, Anjnás, Dángis, Udás and Pattanis are described below, the peculiarities of each being described separately under each. The Matiás and Momnás are described in full separately.

Town Kanbis closely resemble Vániás in appearance, dress and ornaments. Village Kanbis are darker and stronger.

Language. Kanbis speak Gujaráti. The names in common use among men are Amra Bakor, Bhago, Bhimo, Chhota, Dalsukh, Dhori, Gordhan, Govind, Hira, Jetha, Kalo, Kesho, Kheta, Khushál, Ládha, Lakho, Lallu, Magan, Megha, Nárán, Narsing, Punja, Ranchhod, Rúda, Rupa, Shiva, Soma, Vala, Vasta, Vishrám. The tendency of late is to use full names ending in 'ji,' 'Bhai,' 'Dás,' 'Lál,' 'Chand,' etc., for the short names given above, e.g., Bhimji for Bhimo, Ranchhodji for Ranchhod, and so on.

The names in common use among women are Amba, Aval, Bena, Chanchal, Dáhi, Devi, Diváli, Heta, Jiwa, Kanku, Káshi, Kunvar,

(1) The terms Kañbi and Kunbi are synonyms meaning cultivator; but the former is usually applied to cultivating castes in Gujarát while Kunbi denotes the similar occupational caste in the Deccan and Konkan.

Ládu, Lakhama, Lál, Mani, Megha, Párvati, Rádha, Rámú, Rudi, Rupadi, Seji, Sona, Teja. As among men the tendency of late is to add 'ji,' etc., to the old names, so among women commonly 'bái' is added to the names, e.g., Kunvarbái, Dáhibái, etc. In Káthiawár 'ba' is added instead of 'bái.'

Opprobrious names such as Punjo, Ladho, Natho or Nathu are often given to boys whose elder brothers have died in infancy.

Marriages are prohibited between members belonging to the same exogamous section. A man cannot marry a woman of the section to which his mother, his paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother belongs. He cannot marry his father's sister's, mother's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. In other cases, two families having common ancestor relationship on the maternal side in either case are allowed to intermarry if the common ancestor is removed to the fourth or fifth degree. A Kanbi may marry his deceased wife's sister, and brothers may marry sisters. Marriage is mostly infant. Kanbis allow widow marriage. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but among Pátidárs it is very rare. If a husband divorces his wife, no money is paid, but if the wife claims a divorce she has to pay her husband money enough to meet the cost of his second marriage. Divorces are asked and granted if the husband and wife do not agree. The children are either kept by the father or taken by the mother. As a rule, grown children stay with the father. Divorced women are allowed to remarry by the widow remarriage form.

During the seventh month of a woman's first pregnancy, on a Preg-day fixed by the astrologer, the lap-filling or *kholobharni* takes place. A woman who has all her children alive lays in the pregnant woman's lap 5½ or 10½ lbs. of clean rice, plantains, betelnuts, a cocoanut and red-powder. The pregnant woman empties the rice from her lap into a winnowing-fan, and from the winnowing-fan the rice is again passed to the pregnant woman's lap. After this has been repeated seven times, the rice is put into a new earthen jar. Seven balls made of the dung of a goat and a mouse, seven bundles of cotton-thread, seven figs of the banyan tree, seven betelnuts, seven almonds, seven dry dates and seven copper coins, and a rupee and a quarter worth of silver coins, are put along with the rice in the jar. A red cotton thread is wound round the jar's mouth, and in the mouth a cocoanut is placed. The pregnant woman, with the help of a family-priest, worships the cocoanut and the jar. After the worship is over, besides small cash presents, the priest receives the seven copper coins from the jar. The jar and its other contents are put aside and are carefully preserved.

The pregnant woman receives presents in clothes from her father, and on the wrist of her right arm a silver armlet called a *rakhdi* or guard with a golden bead is tied by her husband's sister. The woman continues to wear the silver armlet till her delivery, after which it is returned to the husband's sister with an additional cash present if the child is a boy. The ceremony ends with a dinner to friends and relations. During the interval after this ceremony and the time when the woman goes to her father's house for confinement, she is invited to dinner by her relations and friends and receives a present of Re. 1 to Rs. 5 or a robe. This is known as *váyanu*. In the course of the seventh or ninth month the woman goes to her father's house to be confined.<sup>(1)</sup>

Death  
ceremo-  
nies.

Kanbi women go to their father's house to be confined. When a woman's time is come, a barber's wife or any other skilled woman is called and attends the child and its mother every morning generally for ten days. Besides a set of woman's clothes, she is given about Re. 1 if the child is a boy and about annas eight if the child is a girl. On the birth of a child the family astrologer is asked to note the time by some of the Pátidárs and, in the case of the birth of a son, a barber or a messenger of any caste is sent to give the news to the child's father. The messenger takes with him the footmarks of the child impressed on a piece of paper with redpowder. The relations and friends of the child's father gather on hearing the news. The barber is feasted and paid from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5. The child's father distributes molasses and sugar to his relations and friends. As soon as it is born, the child is bathed in warm water, and about ten inches of the navel cord is left uncut and tied to a red cotton thread, which is wound round the child's neck. For three days the child is fed on a liquid mixture of clarified butter, molasses and castor-oil called *golthuthi* or *chátu*, and on the fourth day it is suckled. Cowdung ashes are rubbed on the navel daily for three or four days, at the end of which the cord dries and is separated from the navel. On the sixth day the *chhati* ceremony is performed. In the evening, on a footstool near the mother's bed, are laid a piece of paper, an inkstand, a reed-pen, red rice, flowers, a rupee, a few copper pice, a lamp fed with clarified butter, some molasses, some cocoa-kernel, and a piece of the waistcloth of a man whose children are all alive. These things are taken away in the morning. The silver and copper coins are melted along with other similar coins and made into an anklet or wristlet for the child, and the piece of the waistcloth is made into a *jabhla* or small coat. On the

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part I, page 161.

morning of the tenth day the woman bathes, but continues impure for twenty-five days more in the case of a son and for thirty days in the case of a daughter. On the morning of the thirty-fifth or fortieth day she bathes, worships the sun, the well and the door-post and is pure. Four or five months after the birth the woman is sent to her husband's house. The woman's father, besides making presents of cash, ornaments and clothes to the child and its mother, gives the child a cradle, a small mattress, and pillows. Except that the name is fixed by the family astrologer, no naming ceremony is performed. The child is named on the sixth or twelfth day or on a lucky day in the first, second or third month, when a Bráhman priest attends and worships Ganpati. Four boys in the case of a boy, or four girls in the case of a girl, rock the child in a piece of cloth, and the father's sister names the child. The father's sister receives a robe or *sádi*, a piece of silk for a bodice, and the Bráhman priest from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 in cash.<sup>(1)</sup>

Instead of the Bráhmanic thread, some of the Kanbis wear a rosary of beads made of the stem of the basil plant or some other material. Some of the Pátidárs in Kaira and Broach have of late taken to wearing the sacred thread and claiming to be twice-born. Among those who wear the rosary, some time when they are between seven and eleven years old, both boys and girls are taken to the religious head or *guru*, who binds the rosary round the neck of the novice. Besides a day's food the *guru* receives about Rs. 2 as the initiation fee. The offer of marriage comes from either side. If the boy's father accepts the offer the girl's father's family-priest goes to the boy's house, where, in the presence of the assembled guests, the boy worships a Ganpati painted in red on a low wooden stool. The boy's brow is marked with redpowder, and he is given a turban, a cocoanut and a rupee. Cash presents are made to the priest and the barber, and a dinner is given to the family. Betrothals may be broken at any time before marriage. If the betrothal is broken by the boy's father, the girl's father gets back the amount he has paid, but if the girl's father breaks off the engagement none of the betrothal money is returned. As a rule, the amount to be paid to the bridegroom is settled at the time of betrothal. The amount varies according as the parties are of family *kulia* or of no-family *akulia*. A bridegroom of high family gets a dowry of from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 while a no-family bridegroom has to pay from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 to the bride. Landlords or Pátidárs marry their daughters

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 157-158.

before they are eleven, and the ordinary peasant Kanbis between eleven and sixteen.

**Marriage  
Cere-  
monies.**

The marriage-day is fixed by the Bráhman astrologer. Five or six days before the marriage, the father of the bride sends a roll of paper or *langanpatri* with the family-priest. The names of the bride and bridegroom and the time for the marriage in hours and minutes are written on the roll. The priest takes the roll to the bridegroom's house and presents the roll along with a rupee to the bridegroom's mother. The priest is feasted and is given a cash present. Three or four days before the marriage the parents of the bride and bridegroom, each in their own house, worship a Ganpati painted on the house wall. Two days before the marriage-day, the parents, each at their own house, perform the *grahashánti* or planet-pleasing ceremony. The bride and bridegroom, each at their homes, are then rubbed every morning and evening with a mixture of turmeric-powder, parched *dad* (*Phaseolus mungo*) flour, and camphor, and are given sweetmeats by friends and relations. The rubbing of the mixture is repeated daily till the marriage-day, and women-relations sing songs in the mornings and evenings for a week or till the marriage is over. On the marriage-day the brother of the bridegroom's mother gives him presents in cash and in clothes, and the brother of the bride's mother gives the bride presents in ornaments and clothes. Marriage preparations then begin. At the house of the bride a square or *chori* of four posts of *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) wood is raised with either five or seven coloured earthen pots piled conewise at each post. At the house of the bridegroom the relations and friends of the bridegroom gather and take their meals. The bridegroom bathes and puts on ornaments and rich clothes. A *kanku* mark is made on his forehead and right cheek, lampblack is applied to his eyes, a lampblack mark is made on his left cheek, and rice, seven betelnuts, two or three betel-leaves, a rupee and a cocoanut are put in the hollow of his two joined hands. Four women whose first husbands are alive by turns touch the bridegroom's nose with four millet stalks dipped in wet *kanku* which are thrown to each of the four quarters of heaven. The bridegroom's sister waves over his head a copper pot containing seven betelnuts, a rupee and a few crystals of salt. The pot is wrapped in a handkerchief and is held in the sister's right hand, who, after waving it round her brother's head, passes it over her right shoulder. The bridegroom then sits on a horse or in a carriage. The procession sets out from the bridegroom's house with music, the men ahead, the bridegroom in the

middle, and, except among *Pátidárs*, the women behind singing songs.<sup>(1)</sup> The bridegroom's mother, with a hood of palm-leaves, keeps in her hand a lamp fed with clarified butter. The procession stops at the outskirts of the bride's village. The bridegroom and his elderly relations sit on a carpet, while the young relations drive in bullock carts to the bride's house, the swifter the bullocks the larger share of grain and spices they get. The bride's relations, both men and women, with a barber and with music, go out to receive the bridegroom and his party. The men of the two parties greet each other with the words *Rám-Rám* and an embrace. The barber gives molasses and water to the bridegroom and his party to drink, and is paid a rupee by the bridegroom's father. The bridegroom and his party are conducted with music to a house which is set apart for them, and the bride's relations return to the bride's house. About an hour later three or four female relations of the bride, among them her sister or her brother's wife, go with music to the bridegroom's lodging. They take *siro* or wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar and give five pinches of it to the bridegroom to eat. The bridegroom eats the *siro* and gives about Rs. 3 to the bride's sister or brother's wife. About eight or ten in the evening of the marriage day the bridegroom and his relations go with music to the bride's house. At the entrance the bridegroom is received by the bride's mother, who shows him a miniature plough, arrow, pestle, and churnstaff. He is led to the marriage-booth, where he sits on a wooden stool and, with the help of the family-priests of the bride and bridegroom, worships Ganpati. After the worship the bride, dressed in ornaments and clothes presented to her by her mother's brother, is brought in and set by her mother's brother on a stool opposite the bridegroom. The parents of the bride then worship Ganpati and the great toe of the bridegroom's right foot. Wreaths of red thread are thrown round the necks of the bride and the bridegroom. Their hands are joined, and over their hands a piece of cloth is thrown. The hems of their clothes are tied together and their feet are washed with water. In the central square or *chori* a fire is lighted, and clarified butter, barley and sesame are offered to it. With their hands one upon another the couple walk together four times round the fire. The bride and bridegroom then feed each other with coarse wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and molasses served by the bride's mother. After he has finished eating, the bridegroom catches his mother-in-law's robe and does not loosen his hold till he has received a handsome present. The

(1) Among *Pátidárs* no women, even the mother of the bridegroom, attend a boy's wedding.

bridegroom in his turn pays about Rs. 3 to the bride's younger brother or sister. The bride and the bridegroom worship Ganpati, and the ceremony is over. The bridegroom and his relations then go to their lodging. On the second day the opium-serving ceremony takes place. The bride's male relations go with music to the bridegroom's house, where *kasumba* or opium-water is served. *Kesar* or saffron water is served to those who object to opium-water. The bride's relations then return to their house, and the bridegroom and his relations go to the bride's house to receive presents, the value of which depends on the wealth and social position of the giver. The bride's father then makes presents in cash or in clothes to Bráhmans, his family barber, his Máli or gardener, and his Kumbhár or potter. The family priest of the bride then dips his hand in wet *kanku* and applies it to the coats of the bridegroom's male relations. The bride and bridegroom then worship the marriage booth and go in carriages with music to the bridegroom's house with his relations. Before they start, the bride's mother worships the spokes of the carriage-wheel and gives a cocoanut to be crushed by the wheels. For two days the bridegroom's relations are feasted by the bride's father, and on the third day they go to their village with the bride and the bridegroom. After entering the house the bride and bridegroom worship Ganpati and, as among Vániás, play a game of chance.<sup>(1)</sup>

*Nátra* or the remarriage of widows is permitted by all Kanbis, but among the well-to-do it is rarely resorted to. A widow cannot marry her deceased husband's brother or a member of his section except among Lewás, Kadvás and Pattanis in Cambay, where marriage with a younger brother of the deceased husband is allowed. The parents of the widow usually receive a sum of from Rs. 25 to Rs. 75 from the intended husband, but a man can marry a widow without making any payment. Sometimes the widow is also presented with some ornaments. *Nátra* is celebrated on Sunday or Tuesday, less often on Thursday. It always takes place at night. The widow is conducted by five relations of her new husband from her parent's house. There is little ceremony. The couple are seated facing each other, and in front of them is placed an earthen pot containing a lighted lamp fed with *ghi*. The pair are asked to look down into the pot, and as they do so their heads touch, which completes the ceremony. In some places, Ganpati is worshipped, after which the widow puts on new bangles presented by her intended husband. Sometimes the widow wears a new robe, and, taking on her head a brass pot filled with water,

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 158-160.

enters the house of her intended husband. In some localities a Bráhman priest is called, who ties red thread round the right wrists of the bride and bridegroom.

As a class, Kanbis are very religious. Unlike Vániás and other Religion. high classes, the Kanbis belong to many sects, Bijmárgis, Dádupanthis, Kabirpanthis, Mádhavgnis, Pranámis, Rámánandis, Shaivs, Svámínáráyans, and Vallabbácháryas. A few are Jains. They worship all Hindu gods and goddesses, and respect Musalmán saints. Though very few keep images in their houses, they often visit the temple of their sects. They are careful to respect Bráhmans and their spiritual leaders and to give grain in charity to the poor of the village and to travellers. To their religious heads or *gurus* they show much reverence, paying them about Re. 1 on occasions of a marriage or of a death, and besides food about Rs. 2½ on the *kanthi* or rosary ceremony. To their *guru* they also pay a small fee whenever he goes to their town or village. They have much faith in sorcery, witchcraft, and the influence of the evil eye. In sickness or in difficulty they consult a sorcerer, generally a Koli or Vágri, a Bráhman, or a religious beggar, Hindu or Musalmán. They believe in omens and signs. On the lucky *Akhátrij* or third day of *Váishákh sud* (April) they begin to take manure to their fields. On the fourth of the first fortnight of *Bhádarvo* (September) they worship Ganpati in order that his carrier the rat may not destroy their crops. Before sinking a well and before each season's first ploughing the ground is worshipped by making *kanku* or vermillion marks and sprinkling rice over the marks. Before watering the ground for the first time, the water in the well is worshipped to increase its nourishing power. Rice and *kanku* are thrown into the water, a lamp fed with clarified butter is laid near the well's mouth, and a cocoa-kernel is offered to the water-god. To guard against too great rainfall the village headman and other husbandmen go with music to the village reservoir and offer flowers, *kanku* and a cocoanut. Of four-footed animals, they hold the cow sacred, and of birds the *nilkáñth* or jay and the *chís* or kingfisher on *Dasara Day* (September-October). For three days from the 13th to the 15th of *Bhádarva sud* (September-October), Kanbi women fast and worship a cow and feed her with barley, and on the fourth day they drink cow's milk mixed with a few grains of barley found in the dung. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts and occasionally make pilgrimages locally to Ambáji, Bahucharáji, Dáker, Dwárka, and Unái; and among more distant holy places to Alláhábád, Banáres, Badrikedár, Gokul, Jagannáth, Mathura, and Shrináthji, Rámeshwar, Násik and Pandharpur.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Volume IX, Part I, pp. 156-157.

Death  
cere-  
monies

When a Kanbi is on the point of death the family-priest, who is generally an Audich Bráhman, and other Bráhmans of the village are called, and a lamp fed with clarified butter is placed near his bed. The dying person worships Vishnu, and gives, besides presents in cash and clothes, a cow or the value of a cow in cash to the priest. To each of the other Bráhmans, besides presents of cash, the dying man makes gifts of wheat, husked rice, pulse, salt, and rusty nails and shovels. If well off, he sets apart sums of money to be spent after his death on works of public charity, sinking wells, making halting places on the roadside, and supplying water to thirsty travellers. Friends and relations come to visit the dying man, and, as the end draws near, they utter the name of Rám near his ear. One of the female relations sweeps the floor of the entrance room and cow-dungs a portion of it of the length and breadth of a man. The cowdunged space is strewn with sesame and barley seeds, *tulsi* leaves, and *darbha* grass. The head of the dying man is shaved, he is bathed with hot water and his brow is marked with *gopichandan* or milk-maid's earth, and the body is laid on its back with the head towards the north on the freshly cowdunged floor. Ganges water and some gold, silver and coral, a pearl, a piece of crystal, and a basil leaf are placed in the mouth. A ball of unbaked millet flour and a rupee are given to a Bráhman. When life is gone, the nearest relations raise the life-cry or *prán-pok* a call to bring back the spirit. Among the Pátidárs of Ahmedabad the name of the deceased is written on a tile with a piece of charcoal and it is sent to the relations of the deceased by a Bhangi to inform them of the occurrence. Caste-people<sup>(1)</sup> go to the house of death, the men to bear the body to the burning ground, the women to mourn. Two or three of the mourners bring from the market two bamboo poles, several short lengths of bamboo, coir string, and a piece of red silk if the deceased is a married woman, or of white cotton cloth if the deceased is either a man or a widow. The poles and pieces of bamboo and the coir string are made into a ladder-shaped bier and from each corner a cocoanut is hung. The corpse is laid on the bier and tied to it by the coir strings. The body is covered with the white or red cloth, and over the cloth red powder and flowers are strewn. The bier is raised on the shoulders of four of the nearest relations and is borne forth feet first, preceded by one of the nearest relations carrying an earthen or copper vessel with fire and cakes of cow-dung. The relations and caste-fellows follow calling the words *Rám bolo bhái, Rám* (Call Rám, brothers, call Rám). The female mourners follow the body for some distance weeping. Then they stop, beat their breasts, return to

(1) The Kanbi funeral procession is large as by caste rules the attendance of one man from each house is enforced on pain of fine.

the house and bathe either in well-water or in a river. Midway between the house and burning-ground the male mourners halt and set down the bier. The nearest relations cease to weep and the bier is borne head foremost to the burning-ground. When the burning-ground is reached, the bearers lay the corpse almost uncovered with the head to the north on a pile of a man's length of wood and cowdung cakes. A little butter is dropped into the dead mouth and the chief-mourner, generally the eldest son of the deceased, puts some fire near the face, and the other mourners set the pyre ablaze. Two or three of the older men stay near the body while it is being burnt, keeping the pile in order; others sit afar, talking and making merry if the deceased was old, and with a certain sadness and regret if the deceased was young. When the body is almost consumed, a little clarified butter is poured on the flames. The mourners bathe and return weeping to the house of the deceased and then to their homes. Letters telling friends and relations in distant villages are sent either by post or by carrier. On the second or third day the chief-mourner and two or three of the nearest relations go to the burning-ground. The ashes and bones are gathered and are thrown into a river or a pond, and an earthen jar filled with water is set where the body was burned. The mourners bathe, and with wet clothes return home, weeping. They take with them a few of the bones and keep them in the house till some member of the family goes on a pilgrimage and throws them into the sacred Narbada or Ganges. After the mourners return from the burning-ground an earthen pot is filled with water and milk and placed on the roof of the house. The nearest relations remain impure for ten days, during which they touch no one, do not approach the house gods, do not visit the temples, do not change their clothes, and do not shave. On the tenth day men shave the head and moustaches; girls and married women wash their hair with clay or with soapnut, the floors are cowdunged, and all earthen drinking pots which have been touched during the ten days are replaced by new ones. The mind-rite or *shrāddha* ceremony is performed by the chief-mourner from the tenth to the thirteenth day, on the eleventh with the help of a Káyatia Bráhman, and on the other three days with the help of the family-priest. During the four days of the *shrāddha* ceremony the chief-mourner, instead of a turban, wears a linen cloth wound round his head. On the thirteenth day his father-in-law presents him with a new turban and the linen cloth is removed. On the thirteenth day the family-priest is given, besides a few ornaments and a complete set of clothes, a sleeping cot, some pillows, and some brass or copper vessels. Friends and relations are feasted from the tenth to the thirteenth day, and the caste-people on the twelfth and on the thirteenth. If the

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deceased was a wealthy man, presents in grain, in clothes, and in cash are given to Bráhmans, to religious beggars, and to the poor. Female mourners go to the house of the deceased to weep and mourn, morning and evening, for a month if the deceased was of mature age, and for six months if the deceased was young. During the first year, as among other Hindus, monthly, half-yearly and yearly mind-rites or *shráddha* are performed, and a yearly *shráddha* in all subsequent years and an additional *shráddha* during the latter half of *Bhúdrarvo* (September-October). Landlords or Pátidárs and headmen of villages call all the villagers to dinner on marriage and death feasts. This custom has ruined many families.<sup>(1)</sup>

**Food.** Except Anjnás, Kanbis neither eat flesh, nor drink liquor.

Though many town Kanbis are skilled weavers of silk and cotton, dealers in cloth and grain, and some have risen to high positions in Government service or made money in trade or as money-lenders, the bulk of the Kanbis are husbandmen. Many are village headmen or *mukhis*, that is, police headmen, and enjoy allowances in cash and land. The officiators are chosen from the *Matádárs*, that is, those who have the right to sign village papers. They are very jealous of their rights, which give them a certain position and influence, and which go to show that they are the original *vatandárs* of the village. Gujarát Kanbis do not enlist as soldiers. Kanbis, especially those of the Kadva and Leva divisions, are capital husbandmen. They are learned in the properties of every soil and minutely acquainted with the wants of every crop.

**ANJNA KANBIS** are found chiefly in North Gujarát. In appearance they are more like Kolis than other Kanbis, and, like Rajputs, some of their names end in *sing*, such as Dánsing, Harising, Rájsing, Umsing. They have twenty-three clans, who eat together and intermarry. Some of the Anjnás of Cutch are Jains.

**DANGI KANBIS** are found in Mahi Kántha. Originally Anjnás, with whom they dine but do not intermarry, they are said to have lost their position by adopting the dress and language of Bhils. Many of them live in Mewár and have marriage and other relations with the Mahi Kántha Dángis.

**GUJAR KANBIS** are found in East and West Khándesh. They consist of eight sub-divisions, (1) Análá, (2) Dále, (3) Dore, (4) Gari, (5) Kadva, (6) Khápra, (7) Londhári or Bág and (8) Reva

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 161-163.

or Leva. There are a few families of Dáles on the banks of the Tápti in Sháháda and Taloda and in Ráver towards Barhánpur. The Deshmukhs of Jámner are said to be Gari Gujars, but they claim equality with and call themselves Reva Gujars. Revás or Levás appear to be an offshoot of the Gujarát Levás. They consider themselves a very superior caste, eschew flesh and liquor and eat only at the hands of Bráhmans. Kadvás, Análás and Dáles are found only in small numbers. Kadvás appear to be a branch of the Gujarát Kanbis of the same name, and, like the parent stock, celebrate their marriages once in twelve years. The Londháris are said to have acquired the name Londhári from their being exclusively employed in ginning cotton. The Kháprás are a mixed or inferior class.

KADVA KANBIS are chiefly found in Ahmedábád and in the Kadi *táluka* of the Baroda State. They are closely connected with the Levás. According to one story, the Kadvás are descendants or followers of Kush, the second son of Rám and Sita ; according to another, they are sprung from clay figures fashioned by Uma or Párvati, the wife of Shiva. Shiva at Uma's request inspired the figures with life and founded for them the village of Unja about forty miles north of Ahmedábád, where a temple was raised in Uma's honour. This village and temple all Kadva Kanbis consider the chief seat of their tribe, and to it they resort from long distances to pay their vows. Some state that they came to Gujarát from Kábúl through the Punjab, which is supported by the names of some of their *shákhás* or sections. Except in Surat they have no sub-divisions. In Surat there are three sub-divisions, one calling themselves Lálchudáwálás from their women wearing red bracelets, the other Kálachudáválás from their women wearing black bracelets, and the third Ahmedábádis from Ahmedábád. These three divisions eat together, but for the last thirty-five years have ceased to intermarry. As among Leva Kanbis they have Kulia and Akulia sections in south Gujarát, the relations between which are the same as those between similar branches of the Levás. A Kadva Kanbi can divorce his wife at will, but in north Gujarát the wife cannot divorce the husband without his consent or after she has borne a child. Kadvá's marriages are celebrated once in every nine, ten or eleven years. Efforts are of late being made to reduce this period to five years by some and to one year by others, and a few marriages have also been celebrated accordingly. But the community as a whole has not yet accepted the reform. There are fifty-two original *shákhás* or exogamous sections, mostly called after the names of villages in the Punjab. At present

Kadvás marry outside their villages and call themselves after their village, e.g., Narodia from Naroda. Thus, new shákhás are continually in process of formation. The original fifty-two shákhás with a few of such new shákhás are given below :—

*The old original fifty-two Shákhás.*

1 Amrita	..	From Amritsar.
2 Bakha	..	.. ,,, a place near Gopálganj.
3 Bhemat	..	.. ,,, Bhám near Hoshiápur.
4 Bhua	..	.. ,,, Bhoa near Láhore.
5 Bhut	..	.. ,,, Bhutána near Lodhiána.
6 Chawelia	..	.. ,,, Chawidsa near Amritsar.
7 Chechat	..	.. ,,, Chechat near Kotah.
8 Cheniár	..	.. ,,, Chenári near Bahawad.
9 Chhapala	..	.. ,,, Chhapal near Mhow.
10 Chopada	..	.. ,,, Chopada, Khándesh.
11 Dáni	..	.. ,,, Dána Awal near Jalandar.
12 Dhánkania	..	.. ,,, Dhánakatti near Faridpur.
13 Dhántodwa	..	.. ,,, Dhampur near Gonda Belámpur.
14 Dhekál	..	.. ,,, Dhekál near Faridpur.
15 Dholu	..	.. ,,, Dhol near Mujafarpur.
16 Diwani	..	.. ,,, Diwanganj near Bhopál.
17 Dokotara	..	.. ,,, Dakot kul.
18 Gámi	..	.. ,,, Gambár near Montgomery.
19 Gogada	..	.. ,,, Goga near Bháwalpur.
20 Goti	..	.. ,,, Got, Sharif Málwa.
21 Harania	..	.. ,,, Har near Mednipur.
22 Hoti	..	.. ,,, Hoti near Pesháwar.
23 Juwátar	..	.. ,,, Juwa near Itáwah.
24 Kadawátar	..	.. ,,, Kaláli near the Godávari river.
25 Kalára	..	.. ,,, Kála near Jhelum river.
26 Kálpuncha	..	.. ,,, Kálsaya near Ludhiána and Ambálla.
27 Karanáwat	..	.. ,,, Karandáh near Gashipur.
28 Katwar	..	.. ,,, Káth near Matoda.
29 Kodal	..	.. ,,, Konda near Gwálior.
30 Kuwára	..	.. ,,, Kumargeri near the Godávari.
31 Lahuwot	..	.. ,,, Láhore.
32 Lákod	..	.. ,,, Lákoda near Láhore.
33 Láli	..	.. ,,, Lár near Gorpur.
34 Majitia	..	.. ,,, Majit Mandi near Amritsar.
35 Mándalot	..	.. ,,, a village in Mewád.
36 Mandawia	..	.. ,,, Mandi, Punjáb.

37	Manwar	..	From Manor near Bareli.
38	Mogala	..	Mogalpur near Láhore.
39	Mokát	..	Moka near Beláji.
40	Munját	..	Munja near Gujaránwála.
41	Páhán	..	a place near Gonda, Balrámpur State.
42	Pokár	..	Pokáran near Miraj.
43	Phok	..	Phuk near Lárhána.
44	Rusát	..	a village near Delhi.
45	Sákaria	..	Sákari in Khándesh.
46	Shethia	..	Shethgadh near Bareli.
47	Shirwi	..	Shirwa near Miraj.
48	Sorotár	..	Sontár near Punial.
49	Tilat	..	Tilatu near Shahábád.
50	Wagada	..	Wagada near Detroj, taluka Viramgám.
51	Wághoda	..	a place in East Khándesh.
52	Wijayat	..	

New Shákhás.<sup>(1)</sup>

1	Aduwaya†	..	23	Hematpara.†
2	Apara	..	24	Itál.
3	Baládiwádás†	..	25	Jhampadia.
4	Báloki	..	26	Kachhar.
5	Bálwot	..	27	Kágá.
6	Bária*	..	28	Kajáwit.
7	Bhila	..	29	Kalatia.
8	Buhát	..	30	Kálwelias.
9	Chámbdáwádás†	..	31	Kangali.
10	Chávda*	..	32	Kank.
11	Chhotia	..	33	Kanotra.
12	Chulgar†	..	34	Kapáli.
13	Daridria	..	35	Karur (near Multán).
14	Darjia	..	36	Kasatia (Káshtia)†.
15	Dábhi*	..	37	Káshmir.
16	Dhola	..	38	Katármal.
17	Ghargada	..	39	Kawa.
18	Gohela*	..	40	Khoda.
19	Gol*	..	41	Khud.
20	Gomát	..	42	Kondha.
21	Gowál	..	43	Kutriwádás†.
22	Hádi.	..	44	Lákadia.

(1) Of these shákhás those marked \* are taken from Rajput clans and those marked † are found only among the Ahmedábád City Pátidárs.

*New Shákhás*—contd.<sup>(1)</sup>

45 Lodáwádia†.	..	..	56 Rátol*.
46 Lodhia.	..	..	57 Sábawa.
47 Makwána*.	..	..	58 Sawándhara.
48 Mándú.	..	..	59 Shenur.
49 Menia.	..	..	60 Sutaria.
50 Metalia.	..	..	61 Trágadi.
51 Moghara.	..	..	62 Ujalia.
52 Padia.	..	..	63 Wághela.*
53 Parewa.	..	..	64 Wanod.
54 Patiad.	..	..	65 Wenjáwat.
55 Pemát.	..	..	66 Widalia.

There are various social grades among them, the Ahmedábád City Kadvás being the aristocracy of the caste. Until a few years ago, children about a month old and even unborn children were married, on the hypothesis that the sexes would prove correct. The mothers actually walked round the altar in the marriage booth to sanctify the agreement. This custom has now become extinct. As Kadva marriages are celebrated periodically, suitable husbands for girls are frequently not available. The difficulty is overcome as follows:— The girl is married to a bunch of flowers on the general marriage day and then the flowers are thrown into a well or river. The girl thus becomes a widow, and may contract a second informal marriage (*nátra*) on any suitable opportunity. An alternative is to induce some married man to go through the ceremony of marriage on payment of a small sum of money on condition that he divorces the girl immediately. The divorced girl may then contract a second marriage.

The auspicious season for holding marriages is fixed in the following way. A few Bráhman priests and astrologers with the two headmen of Unja go together to worship Uma in her temple. After worship lots are drawn, and according as the lot falls, the year on which the lot falls or the following year is declared the proper time. When the year is known, the astrologers name a special day. The day always comes in *Vaishákh*. For the sake of those prevented from sickness or other cause, a second day is chosen about a fortnight later than the first. As soon as these days are fixed, Bráhmans start to spread the news on every side. Wherever they go they are received with honour and rejoicing. At Ahmedábád they are met outside the city in the Asarva suburb. The whole Kadva community comes to

(1) Of these *shákhás* those marked \* are taken from Rajput clans and those marked † are found only among the Ahmedábád City Pátidárs.

Dáda Hari's well, and after worshipping Ganpati and Umáji, the headman of Asarva reads out the names of the lucky days.

LEVA KANBIS are the largest division of Gujarát Kanbis. They are found all over Gujarát, but chiefly in the *tálukas* of Anand, Nadiád and Borsad in the Kaira district. They are found also in Cutch, where they have two territorial divisions, Halái and Vághadia, who eat together but do not intermarry. The Gujarát Levás consist of two groups, Pátidárs or shareholders and Kanbis or husbandmen. The Pátidárs do not give their daughters in marriage to the Kanbis, but take their daughters on payment of a handsome dowry. Further, the Pátidárs of thirteen villages in the Charotar (part of Kaira district) are called Kuliás or men of family, and do not give their daughters in marriage to the Pátidárs outside these villages, who are called Akuliás or men of no family. In Kulia families servants draw water and perform menial household duties. Their women do not appear abroad, and, as stated above, widow marriage is forbidden. As among Vániás, Levás have *gols* or groups of villages formed for the purpose of taking brides. Marriages are generally performed between members of the same *gol*, but the areas of *gols* are not permanently fixed.

Before the introduction of British rule, Kulia Pátidárs acted as farmers of revenue and as middlemen between Government and the husbandmen, and in most cases were found to have exacted the most ingenious and crushing taxes. Though under the survey settlement, they have lost this uncontrolled power of exaction, they have still much influence and are admitted to have a higher social position than the common husbandmen.

"For many years after the introduction of British rule, in spite of their skill and their steady work, their extravagance at marriages kept the Kanbis in a state of depression. The competition to marry their daughters into the higher families was keen, and great sums were paid to secure the honour. In A. D. 1848, to put a stop to this evil, Mr. Fawcett, the Magistrate of Ahmedábád, induced the chief men of the Kanbi caste to pass an agreement reducing marriage expenses and promising not to seek husbands for their daughters among the Kaira families. These agreements were enforced till, in A. D. 1852, the Judge of Ahmedábád decided that they were not legally binding. The restriction was accordingly discontinued, and, for nearly twenty years, no further attempt was made to interfere with the Kanbi marriage customs. In A. D. 1871 information collected in connection with a measure for the suppression of infanticide (Act VIII of 1870), showed

among the Kanbis a startling excess in the number of males over females. Inquiries were made, and the result seemed so suspicious that in April 1871 the provisions of the Infanticide Act were applied both to the Leva and Kadva Kanbis. The result of more complete information has been to show that the fears of Government were excessive. The Kadva Kanbis were declared wholly exempt from the provisions of the Act, and in the case of the Leva Kanbis, the restrictions were reduced to a simple registration of births and deaths.”<sup>(1)</sup>

MATIA KANBIS, from *mat* opinion, are found only in the Jalálpur and Bárdoli *tálukás* of Surat. They are half Hindus, half Musalmáns by religion. That they were originally Leva Kanbis of Ahmedábád is proved by the traces of relationship still subsisting between Leva and Matia Kanbis, and by the surnames of Kothia and Bavalia from the villages of Koth and Bavla in Dholka. About 300 years ago a company of Leva Kanbis on their way to Benares are said to have passed a night at the village of Garmatha, about ten miles south-west of Ahmedábád. Imám Sháh, a Musalmán recluse, was at that time living in Garmatha. According to one story, Imám Sháh spoke to the pilgrims, and learning that they were going to Benares told them that if they would carefully listen to his doctrines they would visit Benares without the trouble of going there. Some of the pilgrims paid no attention to what Imám Sháh said, and went to Benares. Others who trusted in Imám Sháh saw Benares, bathed in the Ganges, and feasted the Bráhmans, all without leaving Garmatha. Astonished at this miracle they adopted Imám Sháh as their spiritual head. According to another account they were saved from becoming Musalmáns by becoming the followers of Imám Sháh.

Till lately there were no divisions among Matiás, but, during A. D. 1880, from 150 to 175 families formed themselves into a separate caste, calling themselves Vaishnav Matiás as distinguished from the original or Pirána Matiás. This division is due to the preaching of an ascetic Nirmaldás of Surat, who told the Matiás of their Leva Kanbi origin. Some of his hearers looking with hatred on their half-Hindu half-Musalmán customs, started on a pilgrimage to Benares and were put out of caste. The seceding or Vaishnav Matiás have joined the Rámánandi and Dádupanthi sects. They worship the images of Narsingji, Thákorji, and sometimes the *linga* of Mahádev. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and go on pilgrimage to

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 167.

Alláhábád, Benares, Jagannáth and Mathura. The Vaishnav Matiás and Pirána Matiás do not eat together. Since the split no old betrothals have been broken and no new betrothals have been made. The Vaishnav Matiás have abandoned all Musalmán customs and in all respects live like Leva Kanbis. But Leva Kanbis do not dine with them, and they do not intermarry.

Pirána Matiás closely resemble Leva Kanbis in appearance, speech and dress. Marriages are forbidden within seven degrees of relationship either on the father's or on the mother's side. Girls are sometimes married when they are six months old, but generally between five and eight, and boys between eight and twenty. Widows are allowed to marry, the widow of a man marrying his younger brother. Divorce is lawful. A bachelor cannot marry a divorced woman or a widow unless he first marries a *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) tree. A widow who marries again wears an ivory bracelet plated with gold. The marriage ceremonies of Matiás do not differ from those of Leva Kanbis. They are conducted by their family priests, who are Audich or Modh Bráhmans.

As a rule a Matia woman gives birth to her first child at her father's house. On the birth of a first child, if it is a boy, its foot-prints are marked with wet *kanku* on paper, and the paper is carried by a barber to the father, who gives him a present of about Rs. 2. On the sixth day the goddess Chhathi is worshipped. On the twelfth day the woman worships the threshold, the doorpost and the nearest well in the street by rubbing on them sandal-dust and *kanku*. Near the well she ties two cowdung cakes together by a cotton thread. The children of the street are given boiled wheat and *júvár* mixed with molasses. For forty days the woman is held impure and cannot touch anything in the house. She never leaves the house if she can help it, and if she is forced to go out she carries with her a sickle or a knife to ward off evil spirits. On some day between the thirty-fifth and the fortieth the woman bathes, and the floor of the lying-in-room is scraped. The woman is then purified by the sin-removing *láhe-utárni* ceremony. After this the child is named by a Bráhman astrologer. When the child is two or three months old the woman goes to her husband's house. No ceremonies are performed when a child is first fed with cooked food.<sup>(1)</sup>

They follow the Atharva or fourth *Ved* and call themselves *Satpanthis*, followers of truth. They worship the tombs of the Musalmán saints whose mausoleums are at Pirána, Ahmedábád, Navsári,

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 170.

and Burhánpur. Their sacred book is the collection of religious precepts called *Shiksha Patri* made by Imám Sháh, the saint of Pirána. Some of them learn the book by heart and gain the name of *káka* or devotee. The *kákás* are laymen, and like the rest of the Matiás maintain themselves by tilling the soil. One special family of *kákás* officiates at some of their ceremonies and are the agents through whose hands all presents pass to the saintly descendants of Imám Sháh at Ahmedábád, Navsári and Burhánpur. The Matiás include three religious divisions, *Pánchíás* or followers of Surabhái's mausoleum, the third of the five Pirána shrines, so called from the five devotees who at first managed the institution, *Sátíás*, from the seven original managing devotees, who are the followers of Baba Muhammad's mausoleum, the fourth of the Pirána shrines ; and *Athiás*, from the eight devotees who managed the institution, who are the followers of Bákar Ali's mausoleum, the fifth Pirána shrine. Except in being called after different saints, these divisions do not differ in belief or in practice. Sin-removing or *láhe-utárni* is their chief ceremony. A woman after child-birth or monthly sickness, a cow or a buffalo after calving, a person who has accidentally defiled himself by the sight of a woman in child-bed, and all those who have broken caste rules by using forbidden articles of food, are made to pass through the sin-removing ceremony. At the house where the purifying ceremony is to be performed various dishes of sweetmeats are prepared. The village *káka* is called and comes accompanied by an assistant called *khal káka*. The *káka* brings with him four copper coins, an earthenware cup, and frankincense. He also brings with him in a small portable tin or brass box, peashaped balls made of white chalk or rice-flour mixed with milk or sandal-dust brought from the tomb of one of the saints. On entering the house the *káka* goes into the kitchen, lights a lamp fed with clarified butter, and mutters a text. While his chief is saying a prayer the *khal káka* calls for a brass plate and in the plate piles from five to eight heaps of cooked rice according as the host is a Pánchia, a Sátia, or a Athia Matia. After the *kalmo* or prayer is over the *káka* sits bowing on a waistcloth spread on the ground. He then burns frankincense and murmurs a second prayer. After the second prayer he spills a circle of wheat grains in a brass plate, and, inside the circle, sets four coins and on the coins a cup. Into the cup he pours a mixture called *nur* or light made of sugared-water, milk and white chalk or rice from the saint's tomb. When this is ready the *khal káka* brings the brass plate with the heaps of rice, and over each heap the *káka* sprinkles the mixture from the earthenware cup repeating a text at each sprinkling. The text for each sprinkling is different, but each ends in *Lá-iláha-illaláh, Muhammad ar-Rasul-*

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*alláh* or *Imám Sháh-Nur-Ali Muhammal Sháh*. The brass plate with the heaps of cooked rice is then put aside and the person to be purified is called in. The man or woman to be purified stands near the *káká* and bows to him, and after being sprinkled with the mixture from the earthenware cup, sits down. He or she then presents a silver or copper coin to the *káká*, who washes it with water, and gives the water along with the mixture from the cup to the man or the woman to drink. The heaps of rice in the brass plate are mixed by the *khal káká* with the rest of the cooked articles and distributed among the guests. The purifying fee is 8 annas for a woman after childbirth and for a buffalo after she has calved, 4 annas for a cow after she has calved, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna for those who have broken caste rules. These fees are sent by the *káká* to the saint's tomb at Ahmedábád, Navsári, or Burhánpur. Besides these presents every Matia cultivator sends once a year to the saints through the *káká* three and a half *mans* (140 pounds) of husked rice and one rupee for each of his ploughs.

Matiás hold the second day of every Hindu lunar month sacred, and when the second falls on a Friday they fast for the whole day and do not eat until they have seen the moon. They keep the Ramzan fast, some of them eating no solid food during the whole month. Their other Musalmán holidays are the *Uras* or Saint's Day and the two preceding Sandal Days. On these days they do no work, and spend their time in feasting or in visiting the shrines of their saints in Navasári. Besides these Musalmán holidays they observe as days of feasting *Holi* February-March, *Akhátrij* April-May, *Diváso* June-July, *Balev* July-August, and *Diváli* October-November. Their chief places of pilgrimage are Navsári, Pirána, Burhánpur, and Vemál, seven miles from Miágám in Broach, which they visit on great days or whenever they have leisure. The *káká* accompanies the pilgrims to these places. At Pirána, Navsári and Vemál the pilgrims visit only the saint's tombs. But at Burhánpur the pilgrims worship the great toe of their living saint. The spiritual guide sets his foot on a heap of not less than a hundred rupees contributed by one or two pilgrims. After it has been set on the heap of rupees the leader's foot is washed, rubbed with a fragrant substance, and the right great toe is kissed by each pilgrim in turn. The *káká* who accompanies the pilgrims receives from the spiritual head presents in clothes and ornaments both for himself and his wife.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Matiás bury the dead. A dying person is bathed and laid on the ground, the *káká* standing near and reading texts. When life is

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 168-170.

gone, the body of the deceased, if a man, is dressed in cotton trousers, a shirt and a cap, and if a woman, in a silk robe, a bodice and a petticoat. It is laid in a Musalmán bier and carried to the burial-ground, which is generally on the bank of a stream. The bearers do not take off any of their clothes or their shoes. On reaching the burial-ground the bearers, without removing any of the clothes, lay the body in a pit and fill the pit with earth. After the body is buried the mourners purify themselves by each holding a piece of frankincense in his hand and muttering two half-Hindu half-Musalmán prayers. The first prayer runs: In the name of Alláh the pitiful, the merciful, of Satgor or Satgur Pátra, of Brahma and Indra, of Imám Shah, of the spotless spiritual Vishnu and of Ali Muhammad Sháh. The second prayer is in these words: The incense burns, evil goes and faith wins (now is the time to) mercy implore.

The funeral party go to the house of mourning, and there the deceased's family feast them with sweet wheat-balls. The mourners eat a mixture of split pulse and rice cooked in a neighbour's house. Like Hindus, Matia women weep and beat their breasts for ten days, and for ten days the sin-removing *láhe-utarni* ceremony is daily performed. Friends and relations from the villages round, summoned by a Bhangia, come to mourn, and are feasted with wheat-flour mixed with clarified butter and sugar. Unlike Hindus, the nearest relations do not consider themselves impure for ten days. No death ceremonies are performed and no rice balls are offered to the spirits of the deceased. Caste people are feasted on the tenth and eleventh days after a death or on any day between the thirteenth and the twentieth, if the eleventh or twelfth falls on a Sunday or a Tuesday. On the first feast-day after a death each family of Matiás sends the chief mourner half a *man* (twenty-pounds) of husked rice, and, besides the rice, friends and relations give eight annas. These presents, along with the clothes, bed and bedstead of the deceased, are sent to the shrine of the saints at Burhánpur, Navsári, Ahmedábád, or Vemál. Besides these presents the chief mourner sends on his own account a money present, and if rich he sets apart a mango tree for the exclusive use of the saint. The aggregate amount of death-presents which go to their saints varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 100. The Bráhman priest receives some presents on the eleventh day, not in his character of priest, but in return for the help he gives in feasting the caste-people.

Like Leva and Kadva Kanbis, Matiás are strict vegetarians, eating neither fish nor flesh and drinking no spirits. Caste rules forbid the use

of assafœtida, garlic, onions and narcotics, and those who break the rule have to be purified before they are let back into caste.

MOMNA KANBIS are found almost entirely in Cutch, nearly two-thirds of the Kanbis in Cutch being Momnás. "Descendants of Hindus of various castes, they are, according to one account, said to have been converted to the Musalmán faith by Imám Sháh, and a portion of them to have fled, after the great Momna revolt and defeat (1691) in Gujarát, to Cutch and settled at Shikra in Vágad. According to another account they were Leva Kanbis converted and called Momnás or *Momins*, believers, by Pir-sadar-ud-din who is said to have become their independent pontiff, *imám*. Slightly made and dark, the Momnás shave the head except the top knot, and the face except the upper lip. The men wear coats, trousers, and three-cornered overhanging turbans. Dark in colour, their women wear petticoats, jackets, and head clothes. Their home tongue is Gujaráti without any noticeable peculiarities. Untidy, but sober, quiet and hardworking, Momnás work chiefly as husbandmen and labourers. Very few are rich or well off, and many are in debt, but as a class they have enough for their daily wants. Shiáhs in faith, they are Musalmáns in little more than name, their habits, feelings, and general mode of thought being Hindu. The ordinary form of salutation among themselves is the Shrávak phrase, *johár*, *johár*, and with others the ordinary Hindu form, *Rám*, *Rám*; although not knowing why, they keep the *Janmáshtami* and *Diváli* holidays, dressing in their best and feasting. Though according to their own accounts they believe in Shet Sayad of Pátan, the cultivators devote one-twentieth part of their income, and the labourers a rupee a year each, to Imámsháh's shrine at Pirana. Marrying among themselves, they form a separate body with, at Mánkuva near Bhuj, a headman, *patel*, who settles all disputes. He has also the power of fining and excommunicating any one who breaks caste rules. His sanction is also necessary for widow marriage, any widow marrying without his consent being excommunicated. Murder and adultery are punished by excommunication, the offender being allowed to rejoin on paying a fine. They do not associate with Musalmáns, eat no flesh, do not circumcise, say no five daily prayers, and do not keep the Ramzán fast."<sup>(1)</sup>

The tendency nowadays with Momnás is not to be called Musalmáns even in name. They style themselves Leva Pátidárs or Leva Kanbis, and except for a few tenets of their religion, which are Muhammadan, are in all respects Hindus. They claim descent from Leva Kanbis, and state that their ancestors were converted at Pátan by a Sayad who met

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. V, pages 90-91.

them there, and by taking them to the Ganges and bringing them back in a trice, induced them to become Musalmáns. Many of late have reverted to Hinduism by adopting the tenets of the Swámináráyan sect; and though they form an endogamous division, they dine with the other Momnás and have departed little from the customs and practices of the Momnás proper, except from such as are opposed to their new faith. They admit Momnás proper into their division, the condition being to accept the Swámináráyan creed.

The rules regulating the restrictions on intermarriage are the same as those among Leva Kanbis. Polygamy is permissible, but polyandry is unknown.

The marriage ceremonies of Momna Kanbis differ in some particulars from those observed by Levás. They do not erect the *chori* or marriage altar or kindle the sacrificial fire. The essential ceremony amongst them is the *Duva*, in which the bride and bridegroom are seated in front of a low wooden stool on which three lights are kept burning. It is alleged that these three lights represent the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. The hands of the pair are then joined by the *Mukhi* or headman of the caste, who is in charge of the caste *Khána* (place of worship), and he recites the *Duva*. Other ceremonies such as drawing up the marriage deed, *mándva* or erection of the marriage booth, and the like, are similar to those performed by Leva Kanbis.

The marriage of widows is permitted. A widow cannot marry a brother of her deceased husband or a member of his section. The parents of the widow's intended husband have to give about four maunds of *kichri* (mixture of rice grains and spilt pulse) and three maunds of *ghi* to her parents, which is intended for feasting the marriage party. The same ceremony is gone through as in the case of a first marriage, the essential portion being the *Duva*.

Divorce is permitted at the instance of a husband only. A wife cannot obtain a divorce at her own will. Divorced women are allowed to remarry.

Momnás profess a religion which is neither strictly Hindu nor Musalmán, though they are very particular about being called Hindus, and object to being called Momnás, as in Gujarat those who go by the name Momna are pure Musalmáns following Musalmán customs and ceremonies. They call their religion *Sat panth* or the True Path, while it is popularly known as *Khána* or *Pirana panth*. Their place

of worship is called *Khána*, though they prefer it to be called *Dhar-mashála*. There is a *pát* or low wooden stool in the *Khána*, on which on certain occasions a *ghat* (water jar) is placed. The Momnás call this *pát* the *pát* of Brahma. From the *ghat* the devotees often sip water made holy by the earth of Pirána. Their ceremonies are conducted by the *Mukhis* or headmen of the caste, the tendency of late being not to employ Bráhmans as far as possible.

Momnás bury their dead. A funeral feast is given to the caste-men on the third or any other convenient day after death. Every year in the month of *Bhádrapad* on the day corresponding to the day of death, a preparation of *ghi*, flour and sugar is taken to the place of worship and distributed to children and other persons who may be present.

Like other Kanbis, Momnás are strict vegetarians. They do not eat with Musalmáns. Rajputs, Darjis, Lohárs, Valands, etc., will eat food cooked by Momnás.

UDA KANBIS are a division once part of the Levás. They are followers of a Bhagat named Uda. They are peculiarly exclusive in their habits and would not drink from a brass or copper pot touched even by a Bráhman. They are generally Kabir Panthis.<sup>(1)</sup>

KANCHGARS, numbering about 198 (1901), including 100 males and 98 females, are found chiefly in Kanara. Their surnames, which they take from places in Goa, and the fact that the shrine of their family god Kásárpál is also in Goa, seem to show that they originally belonged to that locality. They make vessels of copper and brass and cast articles in brass, copper and bell metal. Girls are married before they come of age. Widow marriage is forbidden. Boys are girt with the sacred thread between ten and twelve. Their priests are Havik Bráhmans. In ceremonies and customs they follow Gudigars.

**KANDHI.**—A sub-division of Telis.

**KAN DIVAR.**—A synonym for Bainu Divar.

**KANDOI.**—A synonym for Halvái.

**KANDOLIA.**—A sub-division of Bráhmans.

**KANE.**—A synonym for Pál Kolháti.

**KANGAR.**—A sub-division of Dhangars.

**KANHERJIN.**—A sub-division of Vanjáris.

(1) Baroda Census Report, 1901, Part I, p. 468.

the mourners shave their faces and swallow the five products of the cow. Crows are then fed and caste people feasted, and a *shráddha* is held on every anniversary day.

The main occupation of the caste is husbandry. Some have their own lands, while others take land on lease, either on condition of sharing the produce equally or of paying the land-owner a fixed quantity of grain or money. Some are petty shopkeepers. They deal in rice, fruit, spices and oil, which they buy wholesale from the producers.

They neither eat flesh nor drink liquor. They rank with Maráthás. Food

**KHÉTRI KOMARPANTH.**—A synonym for Komárpai.

**KHICHADYA.**—A sub-division of Modh Bráhmans.

**KHIKRI.**—A sub-division of Dhangars.

**KHILARI.**—A sub-division of Dhangars.

**KHILLARI.**—A synonym for Gavli.

**KHISA KATRA.**—A synonym for Bhámta.

**KHODIA.**—A sub-division of Pália Dublás.

**KHOJAHS**, numbering 50,837 (males 25,555, females 25,282) at the 1901 Census and 52,367 (males 26,387 and females 25,980) at the 1911 Census are scattered all over Gujarát, in Cutch, Káthiá-wár, in the Portuguese territories of Diu and Daman, in Bombay City, Thána, Khándesh and Sind; and beyond the Presidency in Calcutta, the Punjab, Kashmir, Kábul, Dárdistán, Nagar Hunza,<sup>(1)</sup> Bahrein, Bandar Abbas, Mina, Linga, Kism, Karbala, and Sháh Najaf, and, in Arabia proper, in Maskat, Aden and Sheher Mukalla. There is a flourishing colony of Khojáhs in Zanzibar. The term Khojáh has the sectarian sense of "honourable convert"<sup>(2)</sup>". Khojáh is the form used in India for the Persian Khwájah, "a rich or respectable man ; a gentleman ; an opulent merchant"<sup>(3)</sup>".

Khojáhs are Ismáiliás of the Nazárian sub-division, who separated in A. D. 1094 from the Mustálian Ismáilians on a question regarding the succession to the throne of the Fátimite Khiláphat in Egypt<sup>(4)</sup>. The cause of Nazár, the elder son of Al-Mustansirbillah

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 36.

(2) The great Khojáh case of 1866, pp. 10—12.

(3) Hughes-Dictionary of Islam (1885), p. 277. It is said to be of Turkish origin and to mean also bard, teacher, and also, like Máulá both serf and master. (Burton's Sind 412. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 36.) But the modern Persian and sectarian senses are as given in the text.

(4) Founded in A.D. 910 (A.H. 299) by Obeidullah, who first assumed the title of al-Máhdi.

(A.D. 1036-1095), one of the claimants to the Egyptian succession, was espoused and energetically promoted, especially in Persia, where it subsequently rose to be supreme, by Hasan Sabah, an Ismailian missionary, who was born at Rai, about fifteen miles south of Teheran and now in ruins, in the beginning of the eleventh century. Hasan founded the order of the Fidáwis or Fidáis or devotees known in Europe probably from their leader's name as the Assassins<sup>(1)</sup>. Hasan concentrated his power at Alamut or the Falcon's Nest, an impregnable hill fort on the borders of the Persian district of Dailem, about 200 miles north of Kazwin, which, with a small section of the surrounding country, he had acquired in the latter part of the eleventh century partly by stratagem, partly by purchase, from the commandant of the Seljuk emperor Malak-sháh (A.D. 1072—1092). After gaining Alamut, Hasan resolved to cease acting as *dai* or missionary and political emissary of the Fátimites, and, though he did not yet arrogate to himself the title of *Unrevealed Imám*, he made himself known by the convenient style of *Shaikh-ul-Jabal* Lord, or, according to the Crusaders, Old Man of the Mountain, a title which two of his immediate successors continued to use. Before his death at an advanced age in A.D. 1124, Hasan had the satisfaction of leaving his order flourishing and bidding fair to undermine by his Fidáwi's poignard<sup>(2)</sup>, as well as by the levelling force of his doctrines, the neighbouring monarchies of Islám. His successors becoming the terror of kings and the authors of revolutions, ruled from the confines of Khurásán to the mountains of Syria and from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean<sup>(3)</sup>. Hasan (A.D. 1163, H. 559), the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umeid, the fourth ruler on the pontifical throne of Alamut, threw aside the mystery with which the son of Sabáh had deemed it politic to surround his doctrines. He declared himself the Unrevealed Imám and preached that no action of a believer in him could be a sin<sup>(4)</sup>. He is called

(1) On the other hand Sir Joseph Arnould observes: It is likely enough that the etymology insisted upon by Silvestre de Sacy should be correct and the origin be the word by which the Ismáiliás of Alámút and Massiat were designated in the eastern languages. This name is *Hash-shi-shin*, a word derived from the use of Hashish *bháng* or hemp-water with which Hasan and his successors subdued the souls while they inflamed the energies of the Fidáwis whom they employed as their instruments. (The great Khojáh case of A.D. 1866). Against this derivation it is to be noted that not one of the Arab or Persian historians of the time designates the Ismáiliás by the title of *Hash-shi-shins*. All call them Mulahidah or heretics. (Elliot, II.-353-337; Farishtah-Persian Text. II, 645-646).

(2) The primary meaning of fidáwi from the Arabic *fidá* to ransom is scapegoat. The Ismáiliás Fidáwis were the volunteers of the order courting death for its glory. Sir Joseph Arnould styles them the self-offering or devoted. The Great Khojáh Case of 1866, page 9.

(3) Von Hanmer's Assassins by Lee, 77-88, 91-92.

(4) Von Hanmer's Assassins, by Lee, 109.

the “ Ruler of the world who loosened the bonds of the Law ”. No Khojáh mentions his name without the words *A’la Zikri-his-Salam*. Peace be to his name.<sup>(1)</sup> It is through this Hasan that his Highness the Agha Khan traces his decent from Ali.<sup>(2)</sup> The Indian Khojáhs further believe that Hasan was the first of their Imáms to send a missionary to India. The name of this missionary was Nur Satágur.<sup>(3)</sup> In the beginning of the reign of Sultánah Rasiah (A.D. 1237-1240) Minháj-us-Siráj the author of the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*<sup>(4)</sup> speaks as an eye-witness of the *Mulahidah* heretics of Hindustán being reduced by a person with some “ pretentions to learning called Nur the Turk ” (probably Nur Satagár, the missionary of Hasan Zikri-his-salám), “ flocking to him in large numbers from all parts of Hindustán such as Sind, Gujarát, the environs of Delhi, and the banks of the Ganges and Jamna.” Minháj-us-Siráj goes on to say that when Nur preached the rabble gathered around him. He used to call the learned Sunnis *Nasibis*, or enemies of Ali and usurpers of his patrimony, and their followers *Marjis* or hopefuls. On Friday the 6th of Rajab H. 634 (March 1237) his followers to the number of a thousand men, inflamed by his fulminations against the orthodox, and armed with swords, shields, arrows and other weapons, attacked the Jáma Mosque of Delhi and slew many of the congregation assembled there till they were routed with great loss by the officers of the Empress Rasiah. According to the Khojáh accounts Nuruddin, or as they call him Nur Satágur, came from Deilam to Pátan in Gujarát, when that country was goverened by a Hindu prince, apparently the Solanki Bhima II (A.D. 1179-1242). He made a number of converts by ordering the idols of a Hindu temple to speak and bear testimony to the truth of his mission. He is said to have returned to Persia shortly after converting the Hindu ruler of Pátan secretly to his faith.<sup>(5)</sup> On his second visit to Gujarát he married the daughter of Rája Surchand, chief or governor of Navsári near Surat. His success as a proselytiser and his wealth exciting the envy of his followers, he was killed by Chách, one of his two leading

(1) Mir Khond on the authority of Yusuf Sháh Kátib (or the Scribe) relates that over the door of the library of Alámút, Hasan had caused the following couplet to be engraved :—

*Bar-dasht tauqai-shar-abataid-i-I' sadi.  
Makhdum-i-rusgar-aala-Zikri-his-salam.*

With the help of God he hath undone the collar of the Law,  
The ruler of the world, He of blessed memory.

Von Hammer's Assassins—Wood, 108-100.

(2) The great Khojáh case of 1866, page 9, paragraph 1.

(3) The Khojáh Vratant, 155.

(4) Elliott, II.—335-336

(5) The Khojáh hymn called Ramat in the Khojáh Vratant, 155.

disciples while he was absorbed in *samádhi* or contemplation. The name Nur Satágur "Teacher of pure light" which he took in addition to his own name Nur-ud-din or Nursháh and the practice of the Hindu abstraction or *samádhi* show the process by which the first Ismailla-preachers succeeded in converting Hindus.<sup>(1)</sup> The Ismáilia preachers gained their chief success among the Afghán tribe of Lohánás. According to the tribe-legends preserved by the Khojáhs the Lohánás are descended from Lava, a son of Ráma, who founded the tribe of the Ráthors to which the Lohánás belong. According to another story, of which there seem to be several versions, Rája Jaichand of Kanauj took to wife an Afghán woman who was made captive after the defeat of Shaháb-ud-din Ghori (A.D. 1178) and who in revenge caused Jaichand's death. Jaichand's son, to quiet his father's angry spirit, was advised to feed many Brahmas-Kshatris. The Kshatris refused and fled to Lahuragadh. The title Khwájáh meaning Lord which they received on their conversion to Islám from their *Pir* Sadr-ud-din seems a translation of the title Thakkar or Thákur by which Lohánás are addressed. In support of this it is to be noticed that in Hálár or North-east Káthiawár Khojáhs are still addressed by the Lohána title of Thakkar and wear their waist cloths in Lohána fashion. Further the language of the Khojáhs and of some of their Sindi religious hymns contains a liberal mixture of Punjábi words which are also present in the language of the Káthiawár Lohánás.

A later element of strength in the Khojáh community is of Káshmir origin. Farishtah<sup>(2)</sup> mentions the *Cháks*, originally a race of sun-worshippers, who called themselves *Raušanias* The People of Light. During the reign of Fateh-sháh of Káshmir (A.D. 1458-59, H. 864) these *Cháks* were converted to the Ismáili's faith by a missionary from Irák. This was Shams-ud-din, the second Ismáilia missionary to India, who, according to the Khojáh hymns, was able to work miracles.<sup>(3)</sup> Shams-ud-din settled at Uch in Baháwal-

(1) Another Ismáilia missionary Sadr-ud-din adopted the Hindu names of Sahdeva and Harchand. Apart from its popularity with Hindus the adoption of a Hindu name was in agreement with the Sufi (tasaw-wuf) rule as laid by Saádi (A.D. 1258):—

*Saddiya gar wasl khahi Sulh kun ba kahé o am :  
Ba Musalmans Allah Allah ba Hunudun Ram Ram.*

Saádi if thou wishest union, live at peace with low and high ;  
With the Muslim call on Allah, with the Hindu Rám Rám cry.

(2) Persian Text, II, 647.

(3) Farishtah notices that he met with elders of the Nur Baksh order in Badakhshán. He found they differed in no way from the orthodox either in appearance or in ostensibly following the rules of the *Sunnah* or tradition. He says a son of Nur Baksh showed him Nur Baksh's book, in which he found much to admire. Farishtah Persian Text, II, 643.

incarnation, together with the nine Avatárs of his Vishnu-worshipping followers. Up to Pir Sadr-ud-din's time Adam and the Prophet of Islám were unknown in the Hindu Pantheon. Adam is now introduced as Vishnu and the prophet of Islám as Mahesh. Again, as Islám Sháh was the incarnation of Ali, so Nur-Satágur was the incarnation of Brahma and Sadr-ud-din was the incarnation of Bálaráma. The last of the Imáms, the coming Mahdi, was explained to be the *Nishkalanki* or stainless Avatár, whose appearance was looked for by the Saktipanthis as the millennium.\*

After Sadr-ud-din came Kabir-ud-din who was succeeded by Imám-ud-din known in Gujarát as Imám Sháh. Imám Sháh was not well received by the Sind Khojáhs and had to withdraw to Persia where, after visiting the Imám at Kekht, he returned to India in A.D. 1452. Disgusted with his Sind followers he turned his footsteps towards Gujarát and was favourably received by Mahmud Begada (A.D. 1459-1511). Imám-ud-din founded a new sect in Gujarát with opinions differing in some minor points from the doctrines of the Ismáilia faith. The Khojáhs possess to this day a hymn composed by Imám Sháh called the *janázah* or Bier in which he describes his journey to the heavens through the power of the Imám, and his meeting with Pralháda, Harischandra, Yudhisthira, Sadr-ud-din and others. Imám Sháh died in A.D. 1512. His disciples, who belong to the class of Momnás, are to be found in Ahmedábád, Kaira, Cambay, Baroda, Bhávnagar, Surat, Khándesh and Cutch. Owing to the deviation of his teaching from the doctrines laid down by the older Khojáh *Pirs* and owing to his denouncing the Khojáh practice of levying *dassondh* or tythes, Imám Sháh was excommunicated by Abdas-salám, the son of Islámsháh, the unrevealed Khojáh Imám of the time. In Gujarát after the death of Pir Imám-ud-din (A.D. 1512) active proselytizing ceased. About A.D. 1594 Kapura Lohána and some other Khojáhs carried the tythe wallet of the Indian Ismáiliás to Kekht in Persia, the residence of Agha Abd-us-Salám the unrevealed Imám. To supply the want of a missionary Agha Abd-us-Salám wrote in Persian for the guidance of his Indian followers a book called the *Pandyád-i-Javánmardi*, that is, the Maximis of Fortitude. This book transliterated and translated into Sindi and Gujaráti forms part of the scriptures of the Khojáhs and is regarded with a veneration which gives the book the twenty-sixth place in the list of the Khojáh *Pirs* or saints. The mystic strain in their faith the

\* For further details of the Hinduized presentation of the Ismáiliáh faith see below.

Khojáhs trace to certain allegorical traditions of the Prophet and Ali.<sup>(1)</sup>

About the middle of the sixteenth century the backsliding of the Punjáb Khojáhs to Sunniism showed the need of a vice-pontiff in India. The Imám summoned one Dáud or Dádu, a descendant of a powerful family of Sind Khojáhs, and invested him with the mantle of a Pir. The day of Dádu's investiture is still celebrated by the Khojáhs as the Shah's Id. About 1549 (Samvat A.D. 1606) Pir Dádu, owing to the hostility of the Sumrás, left Sind and settled in Jámnagar. Here they were honourably received by the Jám and at his request forty more families of Khojáhs were invited. A plot of land near the town was assigned to them and round it they raised a wall, one of whose gates is still known as Dádu's Gate. After converting some Káthiá-wár Lohánás, Dádu went to Bhuj, the capital of Cutch in the reign of Ráo Bhármal I (A.D. 1585-1631). Here a rain-compelling miracle procured the Pir many converts. Pir Dádu died in A.D. 1594 and was succeeded by his son Sadik, after whom the title of Pirship became extinct, the deputy of the Imám being henceforth styled *Vakil*. Owing to family dissensions Sádik's grandson moved from Bhuj to Hálár in Káthiáwár. In A.D. 1844 the Khojáh Imám Agha Sháh Hasan Ali discontinuing the appointment of local Khojáhs as his *Vakils* sent out his nephew to Cutch as his deputy. A year later (A.D. 1845), Agha Sháh Hasan Ali better known as his Highness the Agha-Khán himself came to India and was the first Ismáilia unrevealed Imám to settle in this country. He was eighteenth in descent from Ruknud-din Khur Sháh during whose tenure of the Ismáilia pontificate in A.D. 1255, Haláku Khán the Tartar massacred the Ismáilia population of Persia, and dismantled their forts.

Khojáhs are split up into seven divisions<sup>(2)</sup>. They are as Divisions follows :—

- (1) Atlai-Khurásáni.
- (2) Badakhsháni and Kábuli.

(1) Ali being asked how he came to know Allah replied : I came to know my Maker from the weakness of my own purpose. In justification of their belief in incarnations the Khojáhs put forward the argument about Godhead in Man furnished by a tradition which they attribute to the Prophet : I am the 'Mim' less Muhammad. This is *Ahad*, the One and Unique Allah. (That is, without its three *ms* or *mins* Muhammad becomes *Ahad*). A scoffer asked Ali ; What is Allah ? The Prince of the Faithful replied : Hast thou been at sea in a sinking ship ? Though the winds sang thy dirge and the waves threatened to engulf thee like the veritable black valley of Jehanna, even then did no small benign voice whisper to thee 'Thou shalt be saved'. That voice, oh thou of little belief, was Allah. The Khojáhs are fond of the Prophet's saying : Think not on the being, think on the bounty of God. Khojáh Vratant 1-10.

(2) The Khojáh Vartánt, p. 255.

- (3) Gujar-Gupti.
- (4) Khedwáya Momna.
- (5) Móchi-Momna.
- (6) Multáni.
- (7) Soni-Lohár.

**Birth.**

Khojáhs have many observances and customs differing from those of regular Musalmáns. The *chhatti* or sixth day ceremony after birth differs from that performed by regular Gujárat Musalmáns. Near the bed of the mother is placed a *bájot* or wooden stool, on which after the child and mother have been bathed and dressed, on the evening of the sixth day are placed a reedpen, an inkstand, a blank book, a knife and a garland of flowers. The pen, ink and paper are intended for the Goddess of Fortune who is believed to write the destiny of the newborn child. A *chaumukh* four-sided butter-fed dough lamp is also placed on the stool and lighted and close to the lamp is set a box of Chinese crackers. As each of the female relatives of the family comes in she strews a little rice near the stool, lays on the ground her present of gold or silver wristlets and anklets for the child and, bending over the mother and her newborn babe, takes their *baláyen* or ills upon herself by passing her hands over them and cracking her finger joints against her temples. The little one is then laid on the ground on the strewn rice and the mother rises and worships the child by bowing towards it and to the *chaumukh* or four-faced lamp on the stool. Crackers are then let off and the child is laid in its mother's lap.

**Marriage.**

The Khojáh marriage keeps a relic of the marriage by purchase which they believe once obtained among them. Three or four days before the marriage the fathers or male guardians of the marrying pair meet one evening at the Jamá-át Khánáh or assembly lodge with their friends and relatives and the Mukhi or other Jamá-át officer. The officer registers the names of the bride and bridegroom in a register kept under the order of his Highness the Agha Khán. The father of the bridegroom gives Rs.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  to the father of the bride. The sum is received by the girl's father and handed to the Jamá-át officer as the marriage contribution to the fund. The bridegroom's friends place before the Jamá-át officer a copper or brass tray containing from five to ten *seers* of sugar. The Jamá-át officer, after repeating the hallowed names of the Five or *Panj-tan*, that is, Muhammad, Ali, Fátimáh, Hasan and Husein declares "I do hereby begin the wedding of Mehr Ali, son of Karam Ali, with Rábiáh, the fourth daughter of Padamsi Punja, to wed as did wed Fátimáh, the bright-faced lady, daughter of our Lord and Prophet

Muhammad (on whom be peace) with the Lord and the leader, the receiver of the testament of the Chosen and Pure, the Lord Ali, the son of Abu Talib.” The sugar tray is then placed before the bride’s father who, in token of ratifying the compact, tastes a pinch of the sugar which is then distributed among those present. This is the verbal compact.

On the morning of the next day, the written agreement is prepared. A thick parchment-like sheet of blank paper is taken together with trays full of dried fruit and sugar to the bride’s house by the bridegroom’s father and his friends accompanied by the Jamá-át officers. The Jamá-át scribe begins the writing with the names of the five holy persons and the names of the four archangels in the four corners. Then are entered the names of the contracting parties with those of their fathers and grandfathers, the amount of the marriage portion, the names of the chief Jamá-át officers of the day, and the dates on which the chief marriage ceremonies are to be preformed. Saffron water is sprinkled over the sheet of paper, which, together with the sugar and dried fruit, is laid before the bridegroom’s father. The bridegroom’s father lays the sheet on the ground and on it places an iron nail and four betelnuts and throws some rice over it. Then folding it he wraps it and the betelnuts in an unused silk or cotton handkerchief and takes it away. Except that in Bombay the *Nikah* ceremony is performed by his Highness the Agha Khán himself and outside Bombay by his officers, the ceremonies that follow possess no note-worthy peculiarity.

The religion of the Khojáhs is Shiáh Ismáiláism. To the simple Religion Sunni *Kalimah* or profession of faith “there is no God but Alláh and Muhammad is His Prophet” the Shiáh adds “and Ali, the companion of Muhammad, is the Vicar of God”. The elevation of Ali to an almost equal place with the Prophet is the distinctive tenet of the Shiáhs.<sup>(1)</sup> The whole religious life of the Shiáh is steeped in a current of thoughts, beliefs, traditions and observances having their source in Ali, the Lady Fátimáh, and their two sons Hasan and Husain, four venerated names which with that of the apostle of God compose the Pentad or Panj-Tan of the holy family of Islám. To revere Ali as the Vicar, still more as the incarnation of Alláh, to go on pilgrimage to Sháh Najaf, the supposed place of Ali’s martyrdom, 120 miles southwest of Baghdád, and at Karbála to bow the forehead on moulds

(1) Etymologically Shiáh means separatist, which is probably the correct derivation. The term was originally applied to those pure-blooded members of Ali’s family who fell early victims to the hostility of the Sunni Umayad Khalifáhs of Damascus (A.D. 661—745). Sir Joseph Arnould in the great Khojáh case of 1866,

of Karbála clay and to drink the holy clay dissolved in water are practices as meritorious in the eyes of the Shiáh as they are forbidden in the estimation of the Sunni. The Sunni prays with folded arms five times, the Shiáh with his arms straight by his side three times a day. The Shiáh venerates Ali and Fátimáh and execrates the memory of the first three Khalifáhs. The Sunni reverences the first three Khalifáhs equally with Ali and the Lady Fátimáh. The Shiáh laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance, though drawn from the same source, are completely opposed to the Sunni laws. The Khojáhs, like the Memans, follow the Hindu law of inheritance.<sup>(1)</sup> The Sunni considers it his duty, if he can afford it, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. With the Shiáh it is an act of merit if he has visited the shrines of Ali and Husain.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Shiáhs are divided into two classes, the *Isna-asharis* or Twelvers who believe in the twelve Imáms, the descendants of Ali. To this branch of the Shiáh faith belong the regular classes of the Persian and Indian Shiáhs. The other branch is that of the Seveners or *Sábins* who are called Ismáilians because they reckon seven Imáms and make Ismáil, the son of Muhammad, the son of Jaáfar Sadik, the last of the revealed Imáms. The difference between the Twelvers and the Seveners starts from the seventh Imám. The power of the Seveners originated with the dynasty of the Fátimis in Egypt (A.D. 910—1171) founded by Obeidullah (A.D. 910) who through Muhammad Habib, the son of Jaáfar Musaddik, who claimed descent from Ismáil, the seventh and according to the Ismáiliyas the last of the revealed Imáms. Muhammad, the son of Ismáil, and his son Jaáfar Musaddik and his son Muhammad Habib are called by the Ismáiliyas their *Maktum* or Concealed Imams in contradistinction to Obeidullah, the asserter of the rights of the family of Ismáil to the Khiláphat, a Revealed Imám. On the establishment of the Fátimite dynasty in Africa

(1) During the absence of his Highness the Agha in Calcutta in A.D. 1846-47 and 1848 litigation was carried on and concluded which again divided the Khojáhs of Bombay into two hostile parties. It was the well-known case as to the rights of female inheritance among the Khojáhs, called Sarjun Mir Ali's case, in which Sir Erskine Perry in A.D. 1847 pronounced a learned judgment, founded on the evidence of caste-usage and custom, against the rights of Khojáh females to inherit according to the rules of Muhammadan law. The great Khojáh case of 1866.

(2) Sir Joseph Arnould, on whose judgment in the great Khojáh case of A.D. 1866 much of the above contrast is based, thus sums the differences: In a word agreeing in reverencing Muhammad as the Prophet and the Kuraan as the word of Alláh the Sunnis and Shiáhs agree in little else except in hating each other with the bitterest hatred. (The great Khojáh case.) The Shiáh calls the Sunni a *Nasibi* and a *Khárijí*, a usurper and an outgoer. The Sunni retorts by calling the Shiáh a *Ráfzi* or rejecter. Sir Richard Burton (Alf Lailah-wa-Lailah, IV, 44, note I) says: The Shiáhs have no ground to feel offended at the word *Ráfzi* being applied to them as the name was taken from their own saying *Inma rafadhma hum verily we have rejected or renounced them, that is the first three Khalifahs.*

(A.D. 910) the Ismáilia doctrines were first publicly taught at Mahdia, a city founded by Obeidullah afterwards surnamed Al Mahdi and after the conquest of Egypt, by the fourth Fátimite Ali-Muizz (A.D. 953—975) at Cairo. Towards the close of the eleventh century (A.D. 1072—1092) the power of the Ismáiliás was established at Alamut in Persia by Hasan Sabáh. The doctrines of the Ismáiliás of Persia remained without change till the year A.D. 1163 when the fourth successor of Hasan Sabáh, Alazikri-his-salám, abrogated the rule of secrecy and promulgated his doctrines and transferred the Imámate from the Fátimite to himself.<sup>(1)</sup> From Alázikri-his-salám the Khojáhs derive the succession and descent of their present Imám his Highness the Agha Khan. For the presentation of the Ismáilia faith in inviting form to the Shakti-worshipping Lohánás, see above. In addition to the equations there given the five Pándavas were equated with the first five famous Ismáilia pontiffs. Among the Mátapanthis each of the four Yugas or epochs has its preacher or *bhakta*. To the first epoch is assigned as *bhakta* Pralháda, to the second Harischandra, and to the third Yudhishtíra. Instead of the fourth Balabhadra or Bala-ráma Pir Sadr-ud-din, the third Khojáh missionary, added his own name. The four sacrifices<sup>(2)</sup> of the four *jugas* were confirmed as were also confirmed the *Ghat Páth—Mantra* or prayer and ritual of the Shaktipanthis. Instead of Shaktipathi Sadr-ud-din adopted the name of *Satpanth* or True Doctrine for his new faith. The Khojás repeat the hymns of Sadr-ud-din with great devotion and never name him but with extreme reverence. The forms of Khojáh prayer and ritual are laid down in the Book of Pandýádi Jawán Mardi by Agha Abdus Salám Sháh, one of the Khoja Imáms. The book is translated into old Hindu Sindi. Before the time of Pir Dádu (about A.D. 1550) the form of worship prescribed to the Khojás was daily attendance at the *khanáh* or prayer lodge and the repetition on a rosary of 99 or 101 beads the names *Pir-Sháh*<sup>(3)</sup> or *Sháh Pir*. Pir Dádu ordered his followers to pray three times a day like the Shiáhs, repeating the above words in their prayer and also repeating the names of all the Imáms down to the present Imám. The Khojáh prays sitting, mentally addressing his prayers to the Imám for the time. He also makes prostrations at stated intervals. The new moon, Muhamarram and Ramazán prayers are repeated in the Jamáat-Khánah with the Pir as Leader. While the prayer reciters are assembling a man stands at the chief entrance. He demands the

(1) Von Hanmer's Assassins, by Lee—20-109.

(2) The Balidána, the first Yuga sacrifice being the elephant, the second the horse, the third the cow, the fourth the goat. Khojáh Vratant, 195.

(3) Sháh, literally King, allegorically means God, and *Pir*, the Prophet. Khojáh Vratant, 239-40.

Khojáh shibboleth or watchward of every person seeking admission. The newcomer says : *Hai Zindah*, Oh, thou living one, and the Janitor answers *Kayámpáya* I have found him alike and true.<sup>(1)</sup> The Khojáh's three daily prayers are : Morning prayer *Subo-ji-nimáz* between 4 and 5 a.m. ; evening prayer *Maghrib* or *Sánanji nimáz* at dusk ; and night prayer *Isáji nimáz* between 8 and 9 p.m., generally at home. Next to prayer the most important act of devotion is the counting of the names of the Pirs on a rosary of 101 beads made of Karbála clay. Third in importance is the Khojáh sacrament the *Ghat páth* or Heart-prayer. Except on holidays, Saturdays and Mondays, when in Bombay the Imám presides, the sacrament is held after the morning prayers at the chief Jamá-át-Khánah by the Jamá-át officers. Karbála clay is dissolved in a large bowl of water, and as each of the congregation rises to leave the lodge he goes to the person presiding, lays before him from 2 annas to 2 rupees and kisses his hand. He receives a small cup of the sacramental water which he drinks and retires.

Besides the *Dassondh* or tithe and the *Petondh* a smaller contribution, the Khojáh has to pay his Imám about sixteen minor contributions varying from  $\frac{1}{4}$ -5 annas to Rs. 1,000.<sup>(2)</sup> These he pays as the *zakát* or purification ordered by the Kur'an. Besides these when pressed for money the Imám sends round the *Jholi* or wallet demanding an extraordinary levy of the tenth or fifth part of the whole of a Khojáh's possessions. This is called the *Bakkas*, a corruption of *bakshish* or voluntary gift. Though it once caused the defection of a large number from the community the Khojáhs have more than once cheerfully paid the *Bakkas*. It is known to have been paid in A.D. (1839-40).<sup>(3)</sup>

The *Dassondh* is levied on each newmoon day of every month, each Khojáh dropping into a cloth bag kept in the Jamá-át-Khánah for the purpose as much as he is inclined to pay, generally the tenth part of his monthly earnings. The *Kángá* is the contribution due for the initiation of a Khojáh child. It is paid by the parents at any

(1) It is said that Pir Kabir-u-din, the fourth Ismáilia missionary (A.D. 1448) in one of the visits to the Imám at Deilam, was addressed by the Imám as *Hai-zindah*, Oh living one. In reply the Pir said *káyámpáya* I have found him alive (meaning himself). These words repeated in a Khojáh's devotions possess a merit equal to the gift of a horse in charity. Khojáh Vratant, 212.

(2) The Khojáh Vratant at page 244 gives the names of some of the chief dues as:  
1. *Sarshur*, 2. *Leko*, 3. *Choko*, 4. *Chopdo*, 5. *Samar-chhanto*, 6. *Marnu-parnu*,  
7. *Chandranu-pirana*, 8. *Bhai-bhuki*, 9. *Darya Bakas*, 10. *Chhati mundu*. 11.  
*Gulfu*, 12. *Phoda-phodi*, 13. *Mata-salamati*, 14. *Mohur*, 15. *Sadamaji*, 16. *Kango*.  
The *Dassondh* and *Petondh*, though large dues, are not regularly paid. Many Khojáhs do not pay them at all.

(3) Sir Joseph Arnould's Judgment in the great Khojáh case of 1866, page 11.

time after the child has reached the age of four to twelve. This is the Khojah substitute for the *Bismillah* ceremony of the regular Musalmáns.

Besides the *Ramazán* and the *Bakr Ids*, two holidays which they enjoy jointly with other Musalmáns, the Khojahs observe nine other yearly holidays. They are as follows<sup>(1)</sup> :—

<i>Katl.</i> —Assassination of the Imam Ali ..	21st Ramazan.
<i>Lailat-ul-Kadr.</i> —Night of preordainment	
of Destinies ..	23rd Ramazan.
<i>Id-i-Ghadir</i> ..	.. 18th Zir Hajjah.
<i>Ashurah</i> ..	.. 9th and 10th Muhamarram.
<i>Chihillum</i> ..	21st of Safar.
<i>Katl-i</i> (Assassination of) Imam Hasan ..	29th ..
<i>I'd-i-Maulad</i> (Husein's Birthday) ..	17th of the 1st Rabi ..
The Nauruz or vernal Equinox	kept according to the Pársi calculation.
Birthday of his Highness Agha Khan	2nd November.

A remarkable feature at a Khojah's death is the *samarchhánta* or Death. Holy Drop. The Jamá-át officer or the Mukhi asks the dying Khojah if he wishes the *samarchhánta*. If the dying person agrees, he or she bequeaths Rs. 5 to Rs. 500 or any larger amount to the Khojah Jamá-át. A Sindi-knowing Khojah is then called in to read the Book of the Ten Incarnations, *Das-Ávatár*. A Jamá-át officer dilutes a cake of Karbála clay in water, and, to save the departing soul from the temptation of the Archfiend, who is believed to be present, offering a cup of false nectar, moistens the lips, and sprinkles the rest of the water on the face, the neck and the chest of the dying Khojah. The touch of the Holy Drop is believed to relieve the death agony as completely as among the Sunnis does the recital at a death-bed of the Chapter of the Kurán known as the Surah-i-Yásin. If the deceased is old and gray-haired the hair after death is dyed with *henna*. A garland of cakes of Karbála clay is tied round the neck of the corpse. If the body is to be buried locally two small circular patches of silk cloth cut from the covering of Husain's tomb, called *chashmáhs* or spectacles, are laid over the eyes. If the body is to be buried in the sacred soil of Karbála, the viscera are removed before the body is bathed, the hollow is filled with camphor and the incision carefully sewn.<sup>(2)</sup> After it is bathed and shrouded, the body is laid in a bier and

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 49.

(2) This is doubtful. Some say the Shiáh in common with orthodox sections believe that it is sacrilege amounting to a mutilation to even handle the body roughly after death. They say that the viscera are not removed, but that a stout cotton ribbon about two inches in breadth is wound tightly and closely round the body of the corpse beginning from the toes and ending at the throat. After the body is deposited in the coffin the remaining space in the coffin is filled with finely pounded *henna* powder. The powdered *henna* absorbs all the moisture which the body exudes and prevents smell.

taken to a mosque and the prayers for the dead are repeated over it. It is then placed in an air-tight tin-lined coffin which is afterwards enveloped in tarred canvas. As long as the coffin lies at a mosque awaiting shipment the services of a Shiáh Mulláh are engaged at Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 to keep on reading the Kurán over the body. The coffins of dead Khojáhs are carried by steamer and transhipped at the mouth of the Euphrates into smaller river-craft and by them are landed at Baghdád ten or twelve days after leaving Bombay.\* At Baghdád professional coffin-carriers take charge of them and carry the coffins by mule or camel to Karbála. The steamer freights vary from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 : the Baghdád camelmen charge no less than Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 for each coffin ; and the final internment charges at Karbála are heavy ranging from Rs. 100 for the deposit of the coffin in the vaults (*Sardab*) below Husain's shrine to Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000 for a grave on the Karbála side.

occupa-  
tion.

The Khojáh enjoys a good business reputation. A keen jealous spirit of competition is the chief trait in the Khojáh character. Though called " *Tundás*" that is, beliefless epicures, † the Khojáhs have a great regard for their religion, the tenets of which they observe faithfully. They are neat, clean, sober, thrifty, ambitious and in trade enterprising and cool and resourceful. ‡ They are great travellers by land and sea, visiting and settling in distant countries for purposes of trade. They have business connections with the Punjab, Sind, Calcutta, Ceylon, Burma, Singápore, Ch'na and Japan ; with ports of the Persian Gulf, Arabia and East Africa, and with England, America and Australia. Khojáh boys go as apprentices in foreign Khojáh firms on salaries of Rs. 200 to Rs. 2,000 a year with board and lodging.

On their first settlement in the towns of Gujerát the Khojáhs were parched grain-sellers, fuel-sellers, old embroiderymen (*zari-puránás*) and bricklayers. They now enjoy assured and powerful positions in the ivory, horn, cotton, hide, mother of pearl, grain, spice, fishmaw, shark-fin, cotton seed, furniture, opium and silk trades. They have also gained high places in the learned professions as doctors, engineers and lawyers.

**KHOKHAR.**—See under Minor Musalmán Castes.

**KHOMBHADIA.**—A sub-division of Karád Vániás.

\* All these details relate to conditions prevailing before the War.

† Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 44; *Tunda* is presumably the Maráthi word meaning—" sleek, complacent from the Skt. *tunda* a belly."

‡ Like most successful trading races they have acquired a réputation of crooked dealing. The proverb.—"A Meman will be faithless though he read seventy Qurans" is quoted by Risley. The People of India—1st Edition, 1908, App. I, p. XXVI. According to Risley Meman in this proverb means Khojáh.

The staple articles of food of the tribé are the two millets in the Food Deccan and Gujarát and rice in Kanara. Except the Máthurás and Labhánás, all eat the flesh of goats, sheep, hare, deer, fowls, fish and wild boar, and drink liquor. Amongst the Rávjins, and in some places among the Maráthás also, the women abstain from flesh and liquor. They rank below the cultivating classes and above the impure castes.

**LAMBADI.**— A synonym for Lamáni.

**LAMBAR.**— A synonym for Lamáni.

**LAMGHA.**— A synonym for Rávjin Vanjári.

**LANGHA.**— A synonym for Mir.

**LAVANA.**— A synonym for Lohána.

**LAVANIA.**— A sub-division of Bháts.

**LENKAVALE.**— A sub-division of Maráthás.

**LEVA.**— A sub-division of Kanbis ; a synonym for Reva.

**LEWANA.**— A synonym for Lohána.

**LIMBACHIA.**— A sub-division of Hajáms.

**LINGANGI.**— A synonym for Lingáyat.

**LINGAYATS.**—Numbered in 1901, 1,422,293 (males 716,411, females 705,882). At that census 71 subcastes were separately enumerated, and of these two were again sub-divided,—the Bánjigs into five, and the Devángs into two, groups. Out of the total number of 1,422,293 as many as 132,138 or 9·02 per cent. did not return a subcaste designation. In the 1911 census the subcastes were not separately enumerated, the main caste numbering 1,339,248 (males 683,472, females 655,776). The reduction during the decennium was attributed mainly to mortality from plague.

Lingáyats are found chiefly in the districts of Belgaum, Bijápur <sup>Distribu-</sup> and Dhárwár as well as in Kolhápur and the Native States of the tion. Southern Marátha Country. Beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency they are numerous in the Mysore and Hyderábád States. They also form an important element in the population of the north-west corner of the Madras Presidency.

Lingáyats, \* who are also known as Lingawants, Lingángis, Name. Sivabhaktas, and Virashivas, derive their name from the word *linga*,

\* The following account is in the main a reprint of matter which has already appeared in my article on *Lingáyats* in Dr. Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics.

the phallic emblem with the affix *ayta*, and are 'the people who bear the *linga*' habitually. Their name literally describes them; for the true Lingayat wears on his body a small silver box containing a stone phallus, which is the symbol of his faith, and the loss of which is equivalent to spiritual death.\* The emblem is worn by both sexes. The men carry the box on a red silk scarf or a thread tied round the neck, while the women wear it inside their costume, on a neck-string. When working, the male wearer sometimes shifts it to his left arm.

Description.

The Lingayat group is not racial, but sectarian. It was the essence of the original faith that anyone might embrace it and become a Lingayat. Hence the Lingayats can only be said to be Dravidian on the ground that the sect was founded in and never spread beyond, the north-west portions of the Karnatak, where the majority of its adherents were necessarily racially of Dravidian origin. They are dark in complexion, in common with the races of Southern India, and speak Kanarese, a Dravidian language. They have been not inaptly described as a peaceable race of Hindu puritans, though it may be questioned how far their rejection of many of the chief dogmas of Bráhmanic Hinduism leaves them the right to be styled Hindus at all. As will be seen below, the faith has not remained pure but has gradually reapproximated to the Hindu faith. Of the Bráhmanic trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva—they acknowledge only the god Shiva, whose emblem, the *linga*, they bear on their persons. They reverence the *Vedas*, but disregard the later commentaries on which the Bráhmans rely. Originally they seem to have been the product of one of the numerous reformations that have been aimed in India against the supremacy and doctrines of the Bráhmans, whose selfish exploitation of the lower castes has frequently led to the rise of new sects essentially anti-Bráhmanic in origin. It seems clear that, in its inception, Lingayatism not only rested largely on a denial of the Bráhman claim to supremacy over all other castes, but attempted to abolish all caste distinctions. All wearers of the *linga* were proclaimed equal in the eyes of God. The traditional Lingayat teacher, Basava, proclaimed all men holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit, and thus, in his view, all men are born equal. The denial

\*This *linga* is called *ishalinga* or "linga of investiture" as opposed to the *Sthaviralingas* or "fixed lingas". The latter, which are stones of large size around which temples have been built, or which have been installed in temples, are numerous all over India. The twelve most famous at Benares, Rameshwaram and other holy places are called *Jyotirlingas*. It was a cardinal tenet of the early Lingayat faith that the true believer should never visit or worship *Sthaviralingas*. But this precept, like many others, is now not strictly observed (Artal in J. Bomb. Anthr. Soc. vii 181,2.)

of the supremacy of the Bráhmans, coupled with the assertion of the essential equality of all men, constituted a vital departure from the doctrines of orthodox Hinduism. The belief in rebirth and consequently in the doctrine of *Karma* was also abandoned. Other important innovations were :—the prohibition of child marriages ; the removal of all restriction on widows remarrying ; the burial, instead of burning, of the dead ; and the abolition of the chief Hindu rites for the removal of ceremonial impurity. The founders of the religion could scarcely have forged more potent weapons for severing the bonds between their proselytes and the followers of the doctrines preached by contemporary Bráhmanic Hinduism.\*

The reader must not assume that this brief description of the fundamental doctrines of a religious movement which dates from the 12th century A. D. conveys an accurate picture of the prevalent Lingayatism of the present day. In connection with the attitude originally assumed towards caste distinctions, there has been a very noticeable departure from Basava's teaching. The origin of caste in India is as yet a subject requiring much elucidation. In its development no mean influence must be allotted to function, religion and political boundaries. Nor can differences of race have failed materially to assist the formation of Indian society on its present basis. One of the most interesting phenomena connected with the evolution of modern caste is the working of a religious reformation in which caste finds no place on the previously existing social structure of caste units. If caste is largely a manifestation of deep-rooted prejudices tending to raise and preserve barriers between the social intercourse of different sections of the human race, it would seem not unnatural to expect that it would tend to reassert itself within the fold of an essentially casteless religion so soon as the enthusiasm of the founders had spent itself ; and it is not unlikely that the mere fact of converts having joined the movement at an early stage in its history would generate a claim to social precedence over the later converts, and thus in time reconstitute the old caste barrier that the reformers spent themselves in endeavouring to destroy. One of the most interesting pages in the history of caste evolution, therefore, must be that which deals with the evolution of caste inside

\*Artalo (p. cit. p. 183) mentions that the Channabasava Purana refers to 64 "commandments", and gives a list of 63 obtained from a Lingayat priest. Many of these are very curious; for instance, the prohibition against using medical drugs. But Artal remarks that only 14 out of the 63 are generally observed by all Lingayats. These 64 Rules provide, among other things, that a Lingayat must be shaved by a Lingayat barber, he should wearcloth woven by a Deváng or Lingayat weaver, his clothes should be washed by a Lingayat Agasa, and his pots made by a Lingayat potter.

the fold of a religious community originally formed on a non-caste basis. A remarkable instance of such evolution will be found in the history of Lingayatism.

The Lingayats of the present day are divided into three well-defined groups, including numerous true castes, of which a description will be found in the section dealing with their social organization. With the rise of caste distinctions, numerous other changes occurred in the nature of the Lingayat religion. The *ayyas* or *jangams*, the priests of the community, devised in time a ritual and ceremonies in which the influence of the rival Bráhman aristocracy can freely be traced. The more important of these ceremonies are described below. But it is essential to a thorough understanding of the nature of Lingayatism that the most important ceremony of all, known as the *ashtavarna* or the eightfold sacrament, should be understood by the reader.

It is commonly asserted nowadays by prominent members of the Lingayat community that the true test of a Lingayat is the right to receive the full *ashtavarna*, and that the possession of a few of these eight rites only does not entitle the possessor to be styled a member of the community. The contention seems scarcely in harmony with the popular usage of the term 'Lingayat'.

The *ashtavarna* consists of eight rites known as—

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| 1. Guru.      | 5. Mantra. |
| 2. Linga.     | 6. Jangam. |
| 3. Vibhuti.   | 7. Tirth.  |
| 4. Rudráksha. | 8. Prasád. |

On the birth of a Lingayat the parents send for the *guru*, or spiritual adviser, of the family, who is the representative of one of the five ácháryas, or holy men, from whom the father claims descent. The *guru* binds the *linga* on the child, besmears it with *vibhuti* (ashes), places a garland of *rudráksha* (seeds of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*) round its neck, and teaches it the mystic *mantra* or prayer known as *Namah Shiváya*—i.e., 'Obeisance to the god Shiva'. The child being incapable of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred text at this early stage of its existence, the prayer is merely recited in its ear by the *guru*. The child has then to be presented to the god Shiva, in the person of a *jangam*, or Lingayat priest, who is summoned for this purpose. On his arrival the parents wash his feet, and the water in which the feet are washed is described as the *tirtha* or *charanatirtha* of Shiva. This water is next poured over the *linga* attached to the infant. The

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*jangam* is fed, and a portion of the food from the dish is placed in the child's mouth. This final ceremony is known as *prasád*. Occasionally the double characters of *guru* and *jangam* are combined in one person. When the child attains the age of eight or ten, the ceremony is repeated with slight modifications.

It will be seen that this eightfold ceremony forms a very concise test of a Lingayat's religious status, and may be not unfitly compared to the rites of baptism and confirmation which are outward and visible signs of admission to the Catholic Church. But not all Christians are confirmed, and in the same way not all members of the Lingayat community undergo the full ceremony of initiation. It would probably be safer to apply the term 'Lingayat' to all wearers of the *linga*, whether they are entitled to the full *ashtavarna* on birth or conversion, or to a few only of the eight sacraments. In so doing, the lower orders, from a social standpoint, of the Lingayat community, will not be excluded, as they would otherwise be, from the fold.

Lingayats are not permitted to touch meat, or to drink any kind of liquor. The greater number of them are either occupied in agriculture or are traders. They are generally reputed to be peaceful and law-abiding; but at times they are capable of dividing into violent factions with such rancour and hostility that the dispute culminates in riots, and occasionally in murder. Among the educated members of the community there is a strong spirit of rivalry with the Bráhmans, whose intellect and capacity have secured them a preponderating share of Government appointments and often a preponderating influence in municipal affairs. This rivalry between the two sects may be said to dominate the whole social and political life of the Bombay Karnatak. Except for these defects the community may be described as steady and industrious, devoted to honest toil, whether in professional employment, or occupied in trading or the cultivation of the soil.

Until the recent publication of two inscriptions, which have History been deciphered and edited by the late Mr. J. F. Fleet, and throw an entirely new light on the probable origin of the Lingayat religion, the movement in favour of this special form of Shiva worship was commonly supposed to have been set on foot by the great Lingayat saint Basava, in the latter half of the 12th century. The acts and doctrines of Basava and of his nephew Channabasava are set forth in two *puráñas* or sacred books, named, after them, the *Basavapurána* and the *Channabasavapurána*. But these works were not written until some centuries had

elapsed since the death of the saints to whom they refer and it seems certain that the substratum of fact which they contain had by that time become so overlaid with tradition and miraculous occurrences as to render them of little historical value. The *Basavapurána* describes Basava as the son of Bráhman parents, Madirája and Madalámbika, residents of Bágewádi, usually held to be the town of that name in the Bijápur district of the Bombay Presidency. Basava is the Kanarese name for a bull, an animal sacred to Shiva, and thus a connection is traced between Basava and the god Shiva. At the age of eight, Basava refused to be invested with the sacred thread of the twice-born caste, to which he belonged by birth, declaring himself a worshipper of Shiva, and stating that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste. By his knowledge of the Sbaiva scriptures he attracted the attention of his uncle Baladeva, then prime minister to the king of Kalyán, Bijnala. Baladeva gave him his daughter Gangádevi in marriage. Subsequently Bijnala, a Kalachurya by race, who usurped the Chálukyan kingdom of Kalyán in the middle of the 12th century, installed Basava as his prime minister and gave him his younger sister Nilalochana as wife. The *purána*s further recount the birth of Channabasava from Basava's unmarried sister Nagalámbika, by the working of the spirit of the god Shiva. The myth in connection with this miraculous conception is interesting. Basava, while engaged in prayer, saw an ant emerge from the ground with a small seed in its mouth. He took the seed to his home, where his sister swallowed it and became pregnant. The issue of this unique conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephew both preached the new doctrines, and in so doing encountered the hostility of the Jains, whom they ruthlessly persecuted. A revolution, the outcome of these religious factions, led to the assassination of king Bijnala and to the flight of Basava and his nephew. Basava is said to have been finally absorbed into the *linga* at Kudal Sangameshwár, the confluence of the Krishna (Kistna) and Malprabha rivers in the Bijápur district (Bombay Gazetteer, xxii, p. 104), and Channabasava to have lost his life at Ulvi in North Kanará. An annual pilgrimage of Lingáyats to the shrine of the latter at Ulvi takes place to this day.

Two important inscriptions bearing upon these traditions of the origin of the Lingáyats deserve consideration. The first was discovered at the village of Managoli, a few miles from Bágewádi, the traditional birthplace of Basava. This record (as also many others) shows that king Bijnala gained the kingdom of Kalyán in A. D. 1156. It also states that a certain Basava was the builder of the temple in which the inscription was first put, and that Madirája

was *maháprabhu*, or head of the village, when the grants-in-aid of the temple were made. Basava is further described as the grandson of Revadása and the son of Chandirája, and as a man of great sanctity and virtue. The second inscription was found at Ablur in the Dhárwár district and belongs to about A. D. 1200. It relates the fortunes of a certain Ekántada-Rámayya, an ardent worshipper of the god Shiva. Rámayya came into conflict with the Jains, and defeated them, both in dispute and, the inscription says, by performing a miracle—we may venture to say, by arranging matters so that he seemed to perform it—which consisted in cutting off his own head and having it restored to him, safe and sound, by the grace of Shiva, seven days later. All this came to the notice of the king Bijjala, who summoned Rámayya into his presence. And Rámayya, making his cause good before the king, won his support, and was presented with gifts of lands for the temple founded by him at Ablur in the new faith. The incidents related of Rámayya are placed shortly before A. D. 1162, so that he would have been a contemporary of Basava. No mention, however, of the latter or of his nephew is found in this record.

Accepting the contemporary inscriptions as more entitled to credit than the tradition overlaid with myth recorded at a later date, it seems clear that both Basava and Ekántada-Rámayya were reformers who had much to do with the rise of the Lingayat doctrine, and that the event is to be placed in the 12th century. Lingayat scholars of the present day, indeed, claim a far earlier date for the origin of their faith. But their contention that its origin is contemporaneous with that of Bráhmanic Hinduism has yet to be established by adequate evidence. The best opinion seems to be that of Fleet, who considers that there is no doubt that the present Lingayat sect is more or less a development of the guild (mentioned in many inscriptions) of the 500 Swámis of Aihole, a village in the Bijápur district, the protectors of the Vira-Bananju religion, who were always more or less strictly Shaivas, but with a free-mindedness which is not now common, patronized also Buddhism. The movement, however, in which the 500 Swámis of Aihole joined seems certainly to have originated with Ekántada-Rámayya at Ablur. And probably the prevalent tradition of the present day, that Basava was the originator of it and the founder of the community, must only be attributed to his having quickly become acquainted with the new development of Shaivism started by Rámayya, and to his having taken a leading part in encouraging and propagating it in circumstances which rendered him more conspicuous than the real founder. Basava happened to be a member of the body of village elders at Managoli, and so to occupy

a recognizable position in local matters, administrative as well as religious. Consequently, it seems likely that, when the first literary account of the rise of Lingayatism came to be written, which was unquestionably an appreciable time after the event, his name had survived, to the exclusion of Rámayya's. Accordingly, the writer of that account was unable to tell us anything particular about Rámayya, beyond duly recording the miracle performed by him, and attributed the movement entirely to Basava, assigning to him an assistant, his nephew Channabasava, who is perhaps only a mythical person. But it must be also admitted that the early history of the movement may be capable of further elucidation, and that the present day claims of the leading Lingayats for a very early origin for their religion, though lacking the support of historical evidence, have this much to rely on, that it is essentially probable that the Dravidian races of Southern India, whose primitive deities were absorbed by the Aryan invaders into the personality of their god Shiva, always leant towards the special worship of Shiva to the exclusion of the other members of the Bráhmanic trinity, and combined with this preference a dislike of Bráhmanic ritual and caste ascendency which is the real substratum of the movement ending in the recognition of Lingayatism.

In dismissing the question of the origin of the Lingayat religion it seems desirable to give an instance of the claims advanced by learned members of the community for a greater antiquity for their religion than historical evidence would afford it. Mr. Karibasavashástri, Professor of Sanskrit and Kanarese in the State College of Mysore, contends\* that the Shaiva sect of Hindus has always been divided into two groups, the one comprising the wearers of the *linga* and the other those who do not wear it. The former he designates Virashaiva, and declares that the Virashaivas consist of Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, the fourfold caste division of Manu. Quoting from the 17th chapter of the *Parameshwar ágama*, he declares that the Virashaiva Bráhmans are also known as Suddha Virashaivas, Virashaiva kings as Márga-Virashaivas, Virashaiva Vaishyas as Misra-Virashaivas, and the Shudras of the community are Anteve Virashaivas. In his opinion, the duties and penances imposed on the first of these classes are (1) the *ashtavarna*, (2) penances and bodily emaciation, (3) the worship of Shiva without sacrifice, (4) the recital of the Vedas. He further asserts that the Hindu *áshramas* or conditions of life of Brahmachári, Grihastha and Sanyási, i.e., student, householder and ascetic, are binding on Virashaivas, and quotes from various

\* R. C. Carr's Monograph on Lingayats, Madras Government Press, 1903.

Sanskrit works, texts in support of this view. He furnishes a mythical account of the origin of Lingáyats at the time of the creation of the world. The importance of this summary of his view lies in the fact that it is completely typical of the claims that many members of the Lingáyat community have recently commenced to advance, to be included, in a sense, within the fold of orthodox Hinduism, with the mistaken notion of thereby increasing their social standing. They endeavour to divide themselves into Manu's fourfold caste scheme of Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, regardless of the fact that theirs is in origin a non-caste religion, and that Manu's scheme, which can only with great inaccuracy be applied to the more orthodox Hindu castes, is totally unsuited to the Lingáyats. A sign of this movement towards Bráhmanic Hinduism among Lingáyats is to be found in the organized attempt made by certain Lingayáts at recent censuses to enter themselves as Virashaiva Bráhmans; and it seems probable that these claims to a great antiquity for their religion and for a caste scheme based on Manu's model are chiefly significant as signs of the social ambitions of the educated members, who are jealous of the precedence of the Bráhmans.

Lingáyats, being a very large community, vary to a considerable extent in appearance, height and colour. It has been seen above that they are for the most part dark in complexion, resembling the races of Southern India in this respect; but they are fairer than Bedars and occasionally differ little in appearance from the average Marátha Kunbi. Some high class Lingáyat women are remarkably fairskinned. The striking points in the appearance of a Lingáyat man are his *linga* which is worn either at his waist in a silver box hung round his neck, or tied in a red ribbon round the neck, or round the upper left arm; the absence of the sacred thread; and the shaven topknotless head.

The men wear the waist-cloth, the shouldercloth, the jacket <sup>Dress.</sup>, and the headscarf, and the women wear the robe and bodice. The robe is wound round the waist and allowed to fall to the ankles. The end of the skirt is not passed between the legs and tucked into the waist behind, but is gathered into a large bunch of folds in front to the left side. The upper end is passed across the bosom and over the head, and hangs loosely down the right side. The two ends of the bodice are tied in a knot in front, leaving the arms, neck and throat bare. Many of them have silk and brocade clothes for holiday use. They are fond of black either by itself or mixed with red. Some are as neat and clean as Bráhmans, but the dress of most is less neat and clean than the dress of Bráhmans. High class Lingáyat women wear

glass bangles and the lucky necklace or *mangalsutra*, and the putting on of the lucky necklace plays a much more prominent part in a Lingáyat than in a Bráhmanical wedding. Some Lingáyat women whose first husbands are alive mark their brows with *kunku* or vermillion, and others with ashes. Even after her second marriage, no widow is allowed to put either vermillion or ashes on her brow. Lingáyat women do not wear false hair or deck their hair with flowers. Both men and women are fond of ornaments.

ornaments.

The men wear on the neck, the *kanthi*, *goph* and *chandrahár*, round both wrists *khadás* and *todás*, round the right wrist *usalbalis*, round the waist the *kaddora*, and rings on the fingers. A rich man's ornaments are of gold, a poor man's of silver. The women wear the ear-rings called *vali*, *bugdi*, *jamki*, *ghanti* and *bálighanti*, all of gold with or without pearls ; the noserings called *mug*, *nath* and *mugti*, all of gold with or without pearls ; round the neck *gejistikka*, *gundintikka*, *hani-*  
*gitikka*, *karimanitikka*, *karipate*, *sarigi*, *kathane* and *putlisara* ; on the arm *váki*, *nágmurgi* and *bajuband* ; on the wrists *got*, *pátlya*, *todas*, *jave*, *havalpátlya*, *doris* and *kankans* ; round the waist the *kambarpatta*, either with clasps representing mouths of animals or simple clasps, on the ankles *sákhlí*, *paijan*, *kalkadágas* and *kalungars*, all of silver ; and on the toes *pille*, *gejipille*, *minpille* and *gendus*, all of silver. Poor women generally wear silver bracelets and necklaces.

Language.

The home tongue of most of the Lingáyats is Kanarese. Their personal names are generally either the names of the reputed founders of their religion, or of village gods and goddesses. The commonest names among men are Basappa, Chanbasappa, Isbasappa, Irappa, Sivappa, Kallappa and Virbhadrappa\*, and among women Basavva Nágavva, Dyámavva and Sangavva. If a woman has lost several children she gives her next child a mean name, Tipáppa, from the Kanarese *tipi* a dungheap or Kálavva from *kalu* a stone, hoping to save the child from untimely death.

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The results of investigations undertaken in 1900 by committees of Lingáyat gentlemen entrusted with the duty of preparing a classification of the numerous social subdivisions of the Lingáyat community tend to show that the relation of these various groups to each other is one of some complexity. Broadly speaking, Lingáyats appear to consist of three

\* The termination *appa* means father. It is frequently followed by the addition of *gauda*, meaning village headman, a hereditary office to which many families have claims. Thus Lingáyat names are very lengthy, as for instance Chanbasappagauda bin (i. e., son of) Dwobasappagauda. *Chan* means "the younger" and *Dwod*, "the elder," literally small and big.

groups of sub-divisions. The first, which for convenience may be named Panchamsális with full *ashtavarna* rites, contains the priests of the community known as *ayyas* or *jangams* and the leading trader castes or *banjigs*. It is probable that this group is the nearest approximation to the original converts, who, it will be remembered, could interdine and intermarry without restriction. The sub-divisions of this group may still dine together, but are hypergamous to one another. Members of the lower sub-divisions in this group may rise to the higher by performing certain rites and ceremonies. The Panchamsális, as they may be called for lack of a better name, are all entitled to the *ashtavarna* rites, and rank considerably above the remaining groups. One of the writers in the "Bombay Gazetteer" describes them as True Lingáyats.<sup>(1)</sup>

The next group is that of the non-Panchamsális with *ashtavarna* rites. This group contains numerous endogamous sub-divisions which are functional groups, such as weavers, oil-pressers, brick-layers, dyers, cultivators, shepherds and the like. It seems probable that they represent converts of a much later date than those we have styled Panchamsális, and were never admitted to interdine or intermarry with the latter. Members of one sub-division may not pass to another. The names of the sub-divisions are commonly indicative of the calling of the members, and it is of special interest to note here how the barriers erected by specialization of function have proved too strong for the original communal theories of equality which the Lingáyats of early days adopted. It is interesting to observe that considerable diversity of practice exists in connection with the relations of the sub-divisions of this group to the parent Hindu castes from which they separated to become Lingáyats. In most cases it is found that, when a portion of an original Hindu caste has been converted to Lingáyatism, both intermarriage and interdining with the unconverted members is finally abandoned, and the caste is broken into two divisions, of which one is to be recognized by the members wearing the *linga* and the other not. But in some instances, e.g., the Jeers of the Belgaum district, the Lingáyat members continue to take brides from the non-Lingáyat section, though they will not marry their daughters to them; it is usual to invest the bride with the *linga* at the marriage ceremony, thus formally receiving her into the Lingáyat community.\* In other cases the Lingáyat and non-Lingáyat sections live side by side and dine

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xxiii, p. 220.

\*It is a remarkable fact that these Jeers or Hugars contain a section wearing the *linga*, a section wearing the sacred thread, and a section wearing both the *linga* and the sacred thread—a curious instance of religious tolerance.

together at caste functions, intermarriage being forbidden. In this case, however, the former call in a *jangam* to perform their religious ceremonies, and the latter employ a Bráhman. The more typical case seems to be that of a caste sub-division given in the Indian Census Report.<sup>(1)</sup> In the last century a Lingáyat priest of Ujjini converted a number of weavers in the village of Tuminkatti in the Dhárwár district. These converts abandoned all social intercourse with their former caste brethren, and took their place as a new sub-division in the non-Panchamsáli group under the name of Kurvinaras. This second group or sub-division of the main caste, therefore, differs essentially from the Panchamsális, though the members also have the *ashtavarna* rites. It is described in the Bombay Gazetteer as "Affiliated Lingáyats".

The third group or sub-division is the non-Panchamsális without *ashtavarna* rites. It contains washermen, tanners, shoemakers, fishermen, etc., who would rank as unclean castes among the Bráhmanic Hindus. It is the practice among Lingáyats of the present day to deny that the members of this third group are entitled to be classed as Lingáyats at all. They maintain that, since the possession of the full *ashtavarna* rites is the mark of a Lingáyat, these lower divisions, who at most can claim three or four of the eight sacraments, are only the followers or servants of Lingáyats. The contention is not unreasonable. Yet it seems that these lower orders would be styled Lingáyats by the other Hindus of the neighbourhood and would describe themselves as such. A classification of the Lingáyat community would not, therefore, be complete unless they were included. On this point the evidence of the Abbé Dubois<sup>(2)</sup> is of interest. He wrote : "Even if a Pariah join the sect, he is considered in no way inferior to a Bráhman. Wherever the *linga* is found, there, they say, is the throne of the deity without distinction of class or rank". This testimony of an observer writing just a century ago seems to indicate that the disintegration of the Lingáyat sect is comparatively recent. Lingáyats of this third description only marry within their sub-division. They are described as Half Lingáyats in the Bombay Gazetteer.

The chief Lingáyat sub-divisions are as follows :—

- |                           |             |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Adibánjig or Divatigi. | 4. Badig.†  |
| 2. Agasa.†                | 5. Baligar. |
| 3. Ambig.†                | 6. Bánjig.— |

(1) *Bombay Census Report, 1901, Chap. viii, p. 182.*

(2) *Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies* (1906, p. 117).

Athnikar or Holiachibalki.	Ganáchári.
Chalgeribalki.	Guushtala.
Dhulpávad.	Kambeya.
Lokabalki or Lokavant.	Kayakada.
Shilvant or Chilmi-agni.	Mathapati.
7. Basuvi.*	Nandi Kola.
8. Burud or Medar.†	Pancha-Sinvásanádhish.
9. Chalvádi or Holaya.†	Pujári.
10. Chatter.	Sthavara.
11. Dás or Deodás.†	Vastradavaru.
12. Dhor.†	Vishuti.
13. Ganiger.†	Virakta or Dhasthala.
14. Gáuli.†	22. Kabbaligar.†
15. Gavandi or Uppár.†	23. Káchári.†
16. Handevant.	24. Kalávant.†
Handevazir.	25. Kammár.†
Handeyawa.	26. Kudavakkal.†
Handeraut.	27. Kumbhár.†
Handeguruba.	28. Kurub or Dhangar.†
17. Helav.	29. Kurusali.
18. Hugar, Jeer, Gurav, Mal-	30. Lálgonda.
gár or Totigar.†	31. Mallav.‡
19. Ilgar or Kalál.†	32. Nadig or Nhávi.†
20. Jád, Neyakár, Koshti or Sáli.†	33. Náglik or Bangar.†
Bilijád. Devara-Dasmaya.	34. Nilgar.†
Deváng	35. Nonabar.
Hatgar.	36. Pancháchári.
Kurvin Shetti.	37. Raddi.†
Nilkant.	38. Sada.
Padsáli.	39. Saib.
Padmasáli.	40. Samgár, Jingar or Chamár.†
Pattasáli.	41. Shiva-Shimpig.
Semasáli.	42. Shivyogi.
21. Jangam, Ayya or Maheshvar.	43. Sungar or Chunár.
Ganakumár.	44. Támboli.†
	45. Tilári or Tiráli.
	46. Turkar.

\* A class of prostitutes, which is disappearing, to judge by the census returns. In the Bombay Gazetteer, 1884, xxii, p. 191, they were said to number "probably 2,000" in the Dhárwár District alone. In the 1901 Census they were returned as only 7 (male 1, females 6) in the whole Presidency. But it is not unlikely that Basavis, as courtesans, return themselves under another name.

† Presumably the Malwáru and Muskin Mallava of the 1901 Census. For this sub-caste see below (p. 374)

Of the above, the divisions shown under Nos. 6 and 20 are Panchamsáli Lingáyats with full *ashtavarna* rites. The rest are for the most part non-Panchamsális with the full *ashtavarna* except for recent converts and divisions corresponding to Hindu unclean castes, e.g., Dhors, Ilgars, etc., who are non-Panchamsális without *ashtavarna*.

Those marked with † are converts to Lingáyatism from Hindu castes of the same name. Of the rest, a few that require special notice are briefly described at the end of this article.

Within the endogamous sub-divisions just described, there are exogamous sections. Little accurate information is available regarding the nature and origin of these sections, but it appears that in the higher ranks they are named after five Lingáyat sages—Nandi, Bhringi, Vira, Vrisha and Skanda\*—and in this respect closely resemble, and are probably imitations of, the ordinary Bráhmanic *gotras*, or exogamous groups, which are also named after mythical ancestors.

Marriage rules.

The Lingáyats do not allow the children of brothers to intermarry, nor may sisters' children marry together. Marriage with the children of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt is similarly forbidden. A man may marry his sister's daughter, but if the sister be a younger sister, such a marriage is looked on with disfavour. Marriage is both infant and adult. Sexual license is neither recognized nor tolerated, at least in theory, but is punished, if need be, by excommunication. Polygamy is permitted, but is only usual when the first wife fails to bear a son.

Birth ceremonies.

After a birth a Kabbaligar, Lingáyat, or Marátha midwife washes the mother and child in warm water, and lays them on a bedstead. The family priest ties a *linga* round the neck of the child and withdraws. The mother is given dry dates, dry ginger, anise-seed or *shep* (*Pimpinella anisum*), raw sugar, and clarified butter, and is fed on boiled rice which is eaten with garlic. She is kept warm by having a chafing dish set under her bedstead on which garlic rind is burnt. On the fifth evening the midwife places in the lying-in room an image of the goddess Jivati, sprinkles turmeric and redpowder on the goddess, lays cooked food before her, waves a lamp about her, and carries the lamp under cover, for if the lamp is seen by any one but the midwife the mother and child will sicken. On the twelfth day the child is cradled and named. Each of the women who comes for the naming brings with her a robe

\* Artal (op. cit. p. 209) gives these as the names of the *gotras* but gives the names of the five sages as Revanávádhyá, Maruáláradhyá, Yeko Rámávádhyá, Panditádhyá and Vishvavádhyá.

or a bodice-cloth for the mother, a jacket or a cap for the child, and two halves of cocoakernel and a pound of Indian millet, wheat, or spiked millet.<sup>(1)</sup>

The rite of *aitán* or initiation is performed on the unmarried sons of all Jangams. When *aitán* is performed on a youth he becomes fit to hold the highest religious posts ; he may become a *mathadaya* or the head of a religious house. A Jangam who has no sons has the rite performed at his expense on one of the sons of a lay disciple who is not below the Panchamsáli group. The boy who is chosen from a lay Lingayát family should be of respectable parents, and his ancestors, both male and female, even to the eleventh generation should not be children of married widows. For this reason the sons of *mathpatis* or beadles and of *ganácháris* or managers seldom undergo initiation or *aitán*. A boy is initiated when he is between eight and sixteen years old. The ceremony takes place at night, so that no non-*linga*-wearing Hindu may see it. It should take place in one of the seven months from *Vaishákh* (April-May) to *Phálgun* (February-March) inclusive—on one out of eight days in either fortnight, *viz.* :—the second, third, fifth, seventh, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth—on either a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, and in one of the following lunar mansions or *nakshatras*, *viz.*—*Anurádha*, *Hast*, *Magha*, *Mrig*, *Mul*, *Revati*, *Rohini*, *Uttara*, *Uttaráshádha*, and *Uttarbhádrapada*. If the boy is to become a *Virakt* or celibate, his initiation is performed in the dark half of the month, and when he is intended to be a *Grihasth* or householder, the ceremony takes place in the bright half of the month. In an initiation the *bhushudhhi* or earth purifying is the first observance. Either in a religious house or a dwelling house a piece of ground eleven and a quarter, twelve, or twelve and three-quarters feet, by six and three-quarters, seven and a half, or eight and a quarter feet, is dug seven and half to eight and a quarter feet deep. Bits of stone and tiles and other larger objects which may be in the pit are removed, and it is filled with fine earth, which is afterwards beaten hard. At the same time the house is whitewashed and painted and its floor is cowdunged. On the day fixed a small bower with a canopy of silk cloth is raised on the sacred spot. At the entrance of the bower an arch is made of two plantain trees or sugarcane stalks. The floor of the bower is plastered with *gorochan* or bezoar, cowdung, clarified cow's butter, cow's milk, and cow's urine, and on it is drawn a large parallelogram with lines of quartz powder, and within it, three small parallelograms.

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xxiii, p. 230.

Of these the first, which lies farthest from the entrance, measures three feet and a quarter by two feet and a quarter. It is covered with a folded silk or woollen cloth and is set apart for the *guru* or initiator. The second or middle one is six feet by two and a half feet. In the centre and at each corner is set a *kalash* or brass or copper vessel with a narrow mouth and a dome-shaped bottom. These five vessels represent the five mouths of Shiva and the five *gotras* or family stocks which are believed to have sprung from them. The names of the five mouths are Aghor, Ishánya, Sadyoját, Tatpurush, and Vámdev, and the names of the corresponding family stocks are Uddán, Panchvanigi, Padudi, Muthin-kanti, and Mali.\* Of the five jars the Sadyoját is set at the corner next to the *guru*'s right hand and the Vámdev at the corner next to his left hand. Opposite the Sadyoját is set the Tatpurush and opposite the Vámdev the Aghor. In the centre is placed the Ishánya. Each jar is covered with five pieces of cloth—white, black, red, green, and yellow, and before each of them are laid five halves of dry cocoa-kernels, five dry dates, five betelnuts, five turmeric roots, five betel leaves, and five copper coins. The third or last design, which is not a parallelogram but a square two-feet each way, is close to the entrance of the bower. This square is covered with a woollen cloth seat, and is occupied by the boy, whose head has been completely shaved in the morning, since when he has been naked and fasting. Near the *guru* are placed a small brass vessel called *gilalu*, a conch shell, and a cane. Behind the boy sits a man belonging to the boy's *gotra* with a cocoanut in his hands. This man bows to the *guru*, and says—"Excellent teacher, purify this body of flesh and blood." After him the boy bows also to the *guru*, and worships an earthen vessel filled with water, in whose mouth is a cocoanut covered with a piece of cloth. The boy first marks the vessel with sandal paste, burns frankincense before it, and offers it molasses, fruit, betelnut, betel leaves, and money. At the end of the jar worship, a string composed of five strands is wound five times round the jars, the *guru* and the boy in the following elaborate order, each object mentioned being encircled five times before passing on to the next:—

Ishánya, Sadyoját, Ishánya, guru Ishánya, Vámdev, Ishánya, Aghora, Ishánya, boy, Ishánya, Tatpurush.

When the *guru* and the boy are thus seated, the *mathpati*, or Lingayat beadle, worships the *linga* which the boy wears and his

\* In the elaborate scheme of five-fold classifications given by Aratal (op. cit. p. 209 (a)) these names do not occur. For the *gotras* he gives Vira, Nandi, Vrishabha, Bhringi, and Skanda (see above). The names given in the text perhaps belong to his *pravaras* (family stocks) for all of which he curiously gives simply Virshaiva.

hand and head. He first washes the boy's *linga* with seven holy waters in this order, *Gandhadak* or sandal paste water, *dhulodak* or dust water, *bhasmodak* or ash water, *suvarnodak* or gold water, *ratanodak* or jewel water, and *pushpodak* or flower water. He then washes the *linga* seven times with the mixture called *panchámrit*, or five nectars, namely, milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. In the same way he washes the boy's hands and his head. The *guru* then gives the boy a *jholi* or beggar's four-mouthed wallet and a staff, and tells him to beg alms of those who have come to witness the ceremony. The boy is given *dhátubhiksha* or metal alms, that is, gold, silver or copper coins. After gathering the alms, the boy gives them with the bag to his *guru*, bows low before him, and asks him to return the bag, promising to obey all his commands to the letter. The *guru*, after commanding him to live on alms, to share them with the helpless, and to lead a virtuous life, returns his bag. The boy gives him gold, vessels, and clothes, and gives other Jangams money and clothes. Besides these gifts the *guru* takes a handful of copper coins from a heap worth Rs. 3-8-0, the rest of which is distributed to ordinary or *Sámanya* Jangams. The friends and kinspeople of the boy's parents present the boy with clothes and vessels; and he takes a light repast. Next morning the boy's father gives a caste feast to Jangams of all orders and to friends and kinspeople. *Aitán* can be performed on one or more boys at the same time and by the same initiator.<sup>(1)</sup>

*Diksha*, or cleansing rite, is performed on any Panchamáli Lingayat entitled to the *ashtavarna* rites who wishes to enter into a grade higher than his own, or to readmit one who has been put out of caste. In the main points *diksha* does not differ from *aitán* or initiation; the only difference is that in the purifying it is not necessary that a celibate Jangam should be the performer. His place is often taken by a family priest. As the person on whom the rite is to be performed is old enough to pray for himself, no man of his family stock is required to sit behind him. The *diksha* rite can be performed on twenty or thirty persons at the same time. When a person has undergone this rite and has entered into a higher grade, he or she does not eat with his former kinspeople. But this contingency rarely arises except when a girl marries into a higher grade. The ceremony performed at the time of tying a *linga* on a child's neck or arm is also called *diksha*.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 230—3.  
(2) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xxiii, p. 233.

Marriage  
ceremo-  
nies.

The choosing of the bride and bridegroom is managed entirely by the parents. Among Lingayats marriage is much cheaper than among Bráhmanical Hindus, as no price is paid for the girl. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's parents. When a boy's father can afford to pay for his son's marriage, he goes to a family who have a daughter likely to make a suitable match. If the girl's parents agree, he returns home and tells his wife that he has secured a bride for their son. After some days the boy's father, with friends and relations goes to the girl's village, and, through a *Mathpati* or a Lingayat Gurav, calls those of his castemen and Jangams who live in the village. When all have come and taken their seats at the girl's house, a blanket is spread, some grains of rice are strewn on the blanket, and the boy and girl are made to sit on the rice. A kinswoman of the boy's dresses the girl in a new robe bought by the boy's father, and gives her five pieces of bodicecloth, out of which one must be white, and the remaining four of any colour except black. The woman dresses the girl, puts on her a gold ring and other ornaments, and fills her lap with two cocoanuts, five lemons, five dry dates, five plantains, and a few betel leaves. The girl's father presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes, including a turban, a shouldercloth, a coat and a gold ring. The boy and girl then rise, bow to the Jangams and house gods, and resume their seats. The Jangams on both sides, naming the father of the boy and girl, declare to the people that the boy and girl are engaged; and the guests are dismissed with betel leaves and nuts. This ceremony is called the *sákshivike* or engagement. Next day it is followed by the *báshtagi* or betrothal. In the betrothal the girl's father gives a caste feast, presents clothes to the relations of the boy's father, and leads them out of the village in procession with music. When the boy's father reaches home he asks an astrologer to fix the days on which the wedding rite and other ceremonies relating to the wedding should take place, makes a list of the days, and sends a copy of it to the girl's father. Preparations then begin. On the first day the laps of five married women are filled with bits of dry cocoa-kernel, dry dates, soaked gram, and betel. A grind-stone and a wooden mortar are brought out, whitewashed with lime, and marked with stripes of *hurmanj* or red colour. Before them are laid bits of cocoa-kernel, dry dates, soaked gram and betel leaves and nuts, and incense is burnt. The women, whose laps have been filled at a lucky moment, begin to pound the turmeric roots in the mortar and grind them on the grind-stone. On another lucky day the marriage booth is raised, the number of posts in each row being always uneven. The ornamenting of the booth depends on the parent's means. When

all preparations are finished, both parties invite their kinswomen to live with them during the ceremony. A marriage takes five days. It is held at the boy's house. On the first day the bride and bridegroom sit together on a blanket, and, about eight at night, a Jangam begins to rub their bodies with turmeric paste. The rubbing is completed by a party of married kinswomen, whose first husbands are alive, after which the bride and bridegroom rub turmeric on each other. The women wave a light before the pair and chant. This day is called the *arshan* or turmeric day ; and when the *arshan* has been put on, the boy and girl are considered *madmaklu* that is husband and wife. The second day is called the *devkárya* or god-humouring day. The boy's father gives a great dinner to Jangams and friends ; the marriage garments are laid beside the house god and worshipped ; the *guru*'s feet are washed, and the water is taken and drunk by the bride and bridegroom and all the family. In a house in which Virbhadra is one of the house gods, the third day is called the *guggul* or Bdellium gum day. A new earthen vessel is brought to the boy's house, the neck is broken off, and a piece of sandalwood set in it, tipped with oil, and lighted, and camphor and *guggul* are burnt. The earthen vessel is held by a Jangam, and the boy and girl stand in front of them with the image of Virbhadra in their hands. The Jangam takes up the vessel, and the boy and girl carry the god, and, with music playing in front of them and followed by a band of friends, they go to Basavanna's temple. In front of the musicians walks a *vadab* or bard, dressed in silk, with a dagger in his hand, and an image of Virbhadra tied at his waist, chanting the praises of Virbhadra. At the temple the pair worship Basavanna, break a cocoanut, lay down the earthen vessel, and then return to the boy's house. Next day the actual marriage ceremony, the chief feature of which is the tying on of the bride's lucky neck-thread or *mangalsutra*, is performed by a Jangam.

Other persons of special positions who ought to attend a Lingayat wedding are the personal *guru*, the *mathadayya*, or head of the local religious house, and the *panchacharus* or "five pots" namely the *ganáchári* or manager, the *mathipati* or beadle, the *metigauda* or village head, the *desái* or hereditary district revenue superintendent, and the *deshpánde* or hereditary district revenue accountant. A dais or raised seat called *shashikate* or rice-dais is made ready, a blanket is spread on the dais, and on the blanket women strew rice. On this rice-strewn blanket the bride and bridegroom are seated. In front of them lines of rice are arranged in the form of a square, and, at each corner of the square and in the centre, a *kalash* or drinking-pot

is set with betel leaves and a betelnut on it, some molasses and twenty-five copper coins, five close to each pot. Round the necks of the four corner drinking-pots two strings are five times wound. One end of the strings is held by the bride and bridegroom and the other end by the *guru*, who sits opposite them beyond the rice square. Between the teacher and the rice square sits the *mathadayya* with the *metigauda* on his right and the *mathpati* on his left. In the row behind, on each side of the teacher who holds the threads, sit the *deshpánde* and the *ganáchári*, the *deshpánde* on the teacher's right and the *ganáchári* on the teacher's left. The bride and bridegroom do not sit opposite each other but side by side and no curtain is held between them. Near the drinking pot in the middle of the square is set an image of Ishvar or Basavanna, and the *mangalsutra* is kept in a cup of milk and clarified butter. The ceremony begins by the *mathpati* bowing to the *mangalsutra*, and proclaiming that it is about to be tied to the bride's neck. The bridegroom lays his right hand on the bride's right hand, the *mathpati* lays the lucky thread on the boy's hand, the *ganáchári* drops water, *vibhuti*, or cowdung ashes, and *kunku* or vermillion on the lucky thread, and marks the bride's forehead with red and the boys with sandal paste. The teacher gives the order to tie on the lucky thread and the *ganáchári* ties it on the girl's neck, and calls *Sumuhurta Sávdhán*, that is, the moment has come, beware. When the priest says Beware, the lucky time has come the guests throw rice over the boy and the girl. The *ganáchári* ties the hems of the bride's and bridegroom's robes together and, in the knot ties a little rice, salt and split pulse. The teacher lets go the end of the two strings, ties a piece of tu meric root into each of them, and binds one to the boy's right wrist and the other to the girl's left wrist. The married couple fall down before the teacher, who ends the rite by dropping sugar into their mouths. The rice is given to the beadle, and first he and then the other four *panchahcharus* are presented with five quarter-anna pieces which had been lying besides the *kalashas*. On the last evening the bride and bridegroom ride on one horse in state to a temple of Basava, break a cocoanut before the god, and return and take off the marriage wristlets. On their return, friends wave boiled rice and curds round the heads of the bride and bridegroom and throw the rice to the evil spirits. During the passage to and from the temple, when they reach a street crossing or when they pass a ruined house, they break a cocoanut to the evil spirits.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 233—5.

According to their religion, the wearer of the *linga* cannot be made Puberty impure. As a matter of fact Bombay Lingáyats mostly observe ceremonial impurity during a woman's monthly sickness, and after a birth or a death. The feeling about ceremonial uncleanness, which has its basis in the fear of spirit possession, seems to be stronger in the north than in the south. Among the Lingáyats in the south, near Mysore a woman's monthly sickness is not considered to cause impurity, while to the north of Bijápur in some families women sit by themselves on the first day of their monthly sickness and in other families a woman has to bathe on the first day, and to mark her forehead with ashes. Hence the Maráthi proverb :—“The Lingáyat woman puts on ashes and is pure.” Families in which this rule is kept do not let their women touch the house gods during their sickness. If a Lingáyat girl comes of age before she is married, the fact that she has come of age is kept secret. When a married girl comes of age she is seated gaily dressed upon a canopied chair for four to sixteen days. During this time her kinswomen feed her with sweetmeats and at the end she is sent to live with her husband. On the last day the boy's father feasts Jangams and kinspeople. The boy's father gives the girl a rich robe and the girl's father gives the boy a dress. In the fifth month of her first pregnancy her mother gives the girl, a green robe and a green bodice, and her kinswomen make similar presents.<sup>(1)</sup>

The marriage of widows was one of the points on which Basava Widow insisted, and was probably one of the biggest bones of contention with the Bráhmans. Widow remarriage is allowed at the present day, but the authorities at Ujjini see fit to disregard it. They say that amongst Jangams it is prohibited and that amongst the other classes of Lingáyats it is the growth of custom. Divorce is permissible. The ordinary law of Hindus is followed in regard to inheritance. A special feature of Lingáyat life is the frequency of adoptions.

The origin and original tenets of the faith have been discussed Religion above. What follows is mainly an account of current beliefs and practices. The three main objects of reverence are the *linga*, the Jangam and the *guru*. The *linga* is the stone home of the deity, the Jangam is the human abode of the deity, and the *guru* is the teacher who breathes the sacred spell into the disciple's ear. The *linga* worn by Lingáyats is generally made of light-gray slate stone, and consists of two discs, each about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, the lower one about

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. xxiii, p. 235—6.

one-eighth of an inch thick, the upper slightly thicker, and is separated from the lower by a deep groove about an eighth of an inch broad. From its centre, which is slightly rounded, rises a pea-like knob about a quarter of an inch long and broad, giving the stone *linga* a total height of nearly three-quarters of an inch. This knob is called the *bán* or arrow. The upper disc is called *jalhári*, that is, the water carrier, because this part of a full-sized *linga* is grooved to carry off the water which is poured over the central knob. It is also called *pith*, that is, the seat and *pithak* the little seat. Over the *linga*, to keep it from harm, is plastered a black mixture of clay, cowdung ashes, and marking-nut juice. This coating, which is called *kanthi*, or the covering, entirely hides the shape of the enclosed *linga*. It forms a smooth black slightly truncated cone, not unlike a dark betelnut, about three-quarters of an inch high and narrowing from three-quarters of an inch at the base to half an inch across the top. The stone of which the *linga* is made comes from Parvatgiri in North Arkot. It is brought by a class of people called Kambi Jangams, because, besides the *linga* stone, they bring slung from a shoulder-bamboo (*kambi*) the holy water of the Pátál-Ganga, a pool on Parvatgiri, whose water Lingayats hold as sacred as Brahmanical Hindus hold the water of the Ganges. A *linga* should be tied to the arm of a pregnant woman in the eighth month of pregnancy and to the arm of a child as soon as it is born. This rule is not strictly kept. The *tinga* is sometimes tied on the fifth day but generally not till a day between a fortnight or three weeks after birth. A child's *linga* has generally no case or *kanthi*; the *kanthi* is sometimes not added for months, sometimes not for years. The *linga* is sometimes tied to the cradle in which the child sleeps, instead of to the child. It is rarely allowed to remain on the child till the child is five or six years old. Till then it is generally kept in the house shrine along with the house gods. The *linga* is worn either on the wrist, the arm, the neck, or the head. Some wear the *linga* slung from the left shoulder like a sacred thread and some carry it in the waistband of the lower garments. The last two ways are contrary to the rule that the *linga* should never be worn below the navel. It is worn either tied round by a ribbon or in a silver box fastened by a silver chain. Each family has generally a few spare *lingas* in stock. The *linga* is never shown to any one who does not wear a *linga* himself. It should be taken out three times a day, washed, rubbed with ashes and a string of *rudráksh* beads bound round it. A man or a woman keeps the same *linga* all through life, and, in the grave, it is taken out of its case and tied round the neck or arm of the corpse. If the

*linga* is accidentally lost, the loser has to fast, give a caste dinner, go through the ceremony of *shuddhi* or cleansing, and receive a new *linga* from his *guru*. For the cleansing he bathes and washes a *Virakt Jangam's* feet, rubs cowdung ashes on his head, and bows before him. He sprinkles on his body the water in which the *Jangam's* feet were washed and sips a little of it along with the five cow-gifts. The *Jangam* places a new *linga* on his left palm, washes it with water, rubs cowdung ashes on it, lays a *bel* leaf on it, mutters some texts or *mantras* over it, and ties it round the neck of the worshipper. When a *Jangam* loses his *linga*, the case becomes serious, and many a *Jangam* is said to have lost his caste on account of losing his *linga*. The *guru* or religious teacher, the third watchword of the Lingayat faith, is either a *Virakt* or celibate or a *Sámánya* (ordinary) *Jangam*. Their head teacher is the head of the monastery at Chitaldurg in North-West Mysore. Like other Hindu teachers, the head teacher during his life-time generally chooses a successor, who acts under his orders so long as he lives. The head teacher may belong to any of the higher classes of Lingayats. He lives in celibacy in his monastery at Chitaldurg with great pomp, and receives divine honours from his followers. He goes on tour once every three or four years, receiving contributions, and in return giving his followers the water in which his feet are washed, which they rub on their eyes and drink. The ordinary *maths* or religious houses are under married or unmarried *Jangams*. When the head of a religious house is a celibate, or *Virakt Jangam*, he is succeeded by his pupil. These pupils remain unmarried and are the sons either of married clergy or of laymen, who, under a vow or for some other cause have, as children, been devoted to a religious house. Boys devoted to a religious house under a vow are called *maris* or youths. The *gurus* or teachers are of five kinds. The *guru* who ties on the *linga* is called the *Diksháguru* (from *diksha* ceremonial purification). The *guru* who teaches religion is called the *Shiksháguru* (from *Shiksha* instruction), and the religious guide is called the *Mokshguru* (from *Moksha* absorption into the deity). The *guru* of the *Mokshguru* is called the *Gurvinguru* or the teacher of teachers and the highest priest is called the *Paramguru* or the chief teacher. According to tradition, Basava taught that there was only one God, namely Shiva. In practice, like their Bráhmanic neighbours, Lingayats worship many gods. First among their gods comes Basava, Basvanna or Basvandev, the founder of their faith, whom they identify with Nandi or Mahádev's bull. They also worship Virbhadra and Ganpati, whom they consider the sons, and Ganga and Párvati, whom they consider the wives, of Shiva, and keep their images in their houses. Besides these members

of Shiva's family they worship Yellamma\* of Hampi in Bellari, and Saundatti in the Belgaum district, Malayya,† Mallikárjun, and Tulja Bhaváni‡ of Tuljápur in the Nizam's country.§ As a guardian against evil, that is against evil spirits, the great rival of the *linga* is the sun. Worship of the heavenly bodies was specially forbidden in the original faith. Shilvants and other strict Lingáyats veil their drinking water so that the sun may not see it; they say the sun is Brahma. But common Lingáyats worship the sun on new moon day, and the moon on full moon day. Again, according to the books, Basava removed fasts and feasts, penance and pilgrimage, rosaries and holy water, and reverence for cows. This change probably never passed beyond the sphere of books. At present Bombay Lingáyats all fast on *Shivrátra* or Shiva's Night on the dark thirteenth of *Mágh* (January-February), and on *Nágpanchmi* or the bright fifth of *Shrávan* (July-August) and follow their fasts by a feast. They keep partial fasts, that is, they take only one evening meal, on Mondays in *Shrávan* (July-August). They make pilgrimages to Gokarn and to Ulvi in Kanara where Basava died, to Sangameshvar, to Yellamma Hill in Belgaum, to Parvatgiri in North Arkot, to Hampi in Belláry, and to Tuljápur in the Nizam's country. Contrary to the rule forbidding the worship of the *Sthaviralingas* a few devout Lingáyats even visit the twelve Jyotirlingas at the famous shrines of Shiva in different parts of India. Many Jangams wear rosaries and tell their beads; the water in which a Jangam's feet have been washed is drunk as holy water or *tirth*, and Lingáyats show the cow as much reverence as Bráhmanic Hindus show her. As regards mediators, Basava's efforts to drive Bráhmans out of their place as mediators between men and god have been successful. No Lingáyats of the first two orders, except that they consult them as astrologers, ever employ or show respect to Bráhmans. But in practice the Jangam is as much a mediator to the Lingáyat as the Bráhman is a mediator to the Bráhmanic Hindu.

Lingávats have two peculiar religious processions, the *Nandi-kodu* or Nandi's horn and the *Vyásantol* or Vyás' hand. The story

\* The origin of Yellamma is obscure. She is now identified with Renuka, the mother of Parsurám. However, there is also a village godling, Yellavva or Yel-Makkaltai (mother of seven children, probably crop pests), represented by painted stones in fields (C. W. M. Hudson in Journ. Bomb. Anthro. Soc. vii, p. 110.)

† Presumably the same as Malikárjun who is a form of Shiva.

‡ A form of Párvati.

§ Lingáyats also worship the village goddess Durgavva and Dyamavva. The former is simply Párvati. The latter is said to have been a Bráhman girl who was seduced by and married a Holava (one of the untouchable castes) and subsequently destroyed him on finding out the deception (Bombay Gaz., 1884, Vol. xxii, p. 807).

about Nandi's horn is that in a fight with a demon Nandi once lost a horn. His followers found his horn and carried it in procession. The horn is now a long bamboo pole wound round with strips of coloured cloth and the top is surmounted by a conical globe. About four and a half feet from each side of the pole a plank is fastened, and on each plank is set a brass bell. This is paraded chiefly in the month of *Shrávan* (July-August). *Vyásantol* or the hand of Vyás, the reputed author of the *Puráns*, is a hand made of rags which is tied to Nandi's horn, and is paraded in the streets. Though in theory the *linga* wearer is safe from evil spirits, Lingáyats are as much afraid of ghosts as other Hindus, and one of their five holy ashes is specially valued as a ghost scarer. When a person is possessed, his brow is marked with ashes from a censer placed before the house image of Virbhadrā, or he is sometimes given charmed water to drink. They have also faith in soothsaying and astrology, and occasionally consult Bráhman astrologers to find the lucky time to hold marriage and other ceremonies.

Except in religious houses and when a priest is present, the different Lingáyat sub-divisions are socially as exclusive as the different Bráhmanical castes. Their feeling to the Mahárs, Mángs, and other castes deemed impure is in no way kinder or more generous than the Bráhman feeling. The theory that nothing can defile the wearer of the *linga* has toned down in practice. A coming of age and monthly sickness, a birth and a death are all believed to cause impurity, though, as among Jains, the impurity is much less thought of and is much more easily and quickly cleansed than among Bráhmanic Hindus. That the dead Lingáyat goes to Shiva's heaven seems to be a practical belief which has greatly reduced the rites to the dead, and probably the fear of spirits. Still in practice the *linga* has not been found to protect its wearers against all evil. Lingáyats consult astrologers, fear and get possessed by evil spirits, and employ knowing men to cast out spirits, lay ghosts, and counteract charms and spells, little if at all less freely than their neighbours among Bráhmanic Hindus. On the whole, Lingáyats are less fettered than Bráhmanic Hindus by ceremonial details and observances. They have fewer gods and have less fear of the dead, they perform no mind-rites—*Shráddha* and they allow the widows of laymen to marry. When you have said this, and said that they do not read Bráhmanic holy books, that they hate Bráhmans, that, when men meet instead of calling of Rám they say Sharnáthi that is Help Pray. And when you have added that they wear a *linga* and not a sacred-thread, that the men shave the topknot and

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do not shave the widow's head or the mourner's lip, you have about exhausted the difference between the two parties.<sup>(1)</sup>

It has been seen that the Lingáyats are believers in the god Shiva the third person of the Hindu trinity, signifying the creative and destructive forces in the universe. Thence they derive the phallus or *linga*, emblematic of reproduction, and the sacred bull, Nandi or Basava, found in all their temples, and in all probability the emblem of strength. The principal Lingáyat ceremony known as the *ashtavarna* or eightfold sacrament has been already referred to in some detail. The essentially Lingáyat beliefs and ceremonies, such as the wearing of the *linga*, the worship of the *jangam*, and the administration of *ashtavarna* rites are, however, as is usual in India, constantly mingled with many commonplace Hindu beliefs and customs. It is a common practice in India for Hindus to worship at the shrine of Musalmán *pirs* or saints, and in the same way Lingáyats will combine the worship of the special objects prescribed by Basava, with the worship of purely Hindu deities, such as Hanumán, Ganpati, Yellamma, Máruti and many others. The investigations hitherto conducted do not clearly show how far Lingáyat and Hindu rituals are liable to be combined; but it can be securely predicted that the lower orders of the community, who still keep in touch with the unconverted section of the caste to which, professionally speaking, they belong, will be found to adhere in many instances to the beliefs and customs of their unconverted fellow castemen, despite the teaching and influence of the Jangams.

Death  
ceremo-  
nies.

Lingáyats always bury their dead. They make no exception even in the case of a leper, or of a woman dying in child-birth. According to the Lingáyat theory, death is a cause of gladness, the dead has changed the cares of life for the joys of *kailás* the heaven of Shiva. When a Lingáyat dies and the few rites are performed he is believed by the people to go straight to heaven. It is well with the dead, and the Lingáyats are less nervous about the dead walking and coming to worry the living than most Bráhmanic Hindus. Still, the loss to the living remains. A Lingáyat death scene is a curious mixture. The Jangams feast with merry music, the widow and children mourn and bewail the dead. When fatal symptoms set in, a *mathadaya* or head of a monastery is called. When he comes, the dying person gives him ashes and a packet of betel leaves and nuts and says : I go to become one with your lotus-like feet. When the dying man has breathed his last wish, the Jangam whispers a text or *mantra* into his right ear, and

(1) *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 225—9.

those who stand round say: His soul is cleansed. When all is over the body is bathed and set on the verandah (*katta* or *sopa*), and the brow is rubbed with cowdung ashes. In front of the body a Jangam sits reading passages out of the Lingayat scriptures to help the soul in its flight to heaven. A feast is made ready in the inner room and the Jangams go in and eat. Before sitting, each Jangam sets his right foot on the dead head. When the feast is over the Jangams are given money and clothes. The body is dressed in fine clothes and ornaments and flowers are tucked in the head dress. The body is set in a *rimán* or gaily canopied chair and sprinkled with powder and betel leaves. The beadle takes a cloth, tears it in two, keeps one half and lays the other half on the dead face, and seats himself in front of the chair and rings a bell. Properly on the day of the death, but sometimes not until two or three days have passed, the chair is carried to the grave. The chair is carried by any four castemen, and the procession is headed by a band of music. The poor, though contrary to rule, sometimes carry the dead on a bier. While the Jangam's feast goes on in the house of death, the length of the dead man's foot is taken and the grave is dug. The grave is of two kinds, a married person's grave and a celibate's grave. The grave is nine of the dead man's feet long and five of the dead man's feet broad. It is entered by three steps, the first step one foot wide and one foot deep, the second step two feet wide and two feet deep, the third step three feet wide and three feet deep. At the bottom of the grave is raised an altar one foot high and three feet broad. In the side of the grave, facing either east or north, a five-cornered niche is cut, each of the three sides measuring three feet and each of the two sides measuring one and a half feet. On either side of the large niche is a small niche one foot across, for keeping lamps. Such a grave is called *gomukh samádhi* or the cow-mouth grave, and is used for married men. A celibate's grave is called *shikhar samádhi* or the peak grave. The celibate's grave has three steps equal in breadth and depth to those of a married man's grave, but of unequal length. The first is one foot long, the second two feet, and the third three feet. When the funeral party come to the grave the body is stripped of its rich clothes and ornaments, which are either given to a Jangam or kept by the mourners. It is carried into the grave by two kinsmen and seated crosslegged on the central altar. The body is generally bare except for a loincloth and a face cloth. Sometimes it is shrouded in a sack. In either case the *linga* is taken out of its silver cover. The cover is given to a Jangam and the *linga* is tied either round the neck or round the upper right arm of the body. The large niche is partly filled with ashes and faded *bel* leaves and flowers that have been offered

to Shiva, and the body is set in the niche, and the niche filled with cow-dung ashes and fresh *bel* leaves. The grave is then filled with earth. On the grave the beadle lays a stone, and on the stone the Jangam stands and the chief mourner washes his feet, lays *bel* leaves on them and gives him and the beadle each five copper coins. Sometimes the beadle washes the Sámánya Jangam's feet, lays *bel* leaves on them, and gives him five copper coins. Alms are distributed to all Jangams and poor people who are present. Those who have been at the funeral go home and bathe. After they have bathed, the mourners wash their teacher's feet and purify themselves by drinking the water in which his feet are washed. Strictly speaking, Lingayat funeral rites end with the purifying of the mourners. In practice the rich, for five days after the funeral, daily send for a Jangam, wash his feet, and drink the water; and do not eat wheaten bread or sugar. On the eleventh day friends are feasted. Nothing is taken to the grave and there is no yearly mind feast<sup>(1)</sup>.

Lingayats are bound together by a strong religious feeling. Social disputes are settled by the castemen in the presence of eight office bearers, namely, the *mathadayya* or monastery head, the *ganchári* or monastery manager, the *mathpati* or Lingayat beadle, and representatives of each of the five *gotras*. In social disputes final appeals are made to the four lion-thrones or *simhásans*, the north throne at Ujjain in Málwa, the east throne at Shri Shail in North Arkot, the south throne at Balhali in Belláry, and the west throne at Kolhápur. The fifth throne which is filled by the childless Virakt, is known as the *shunya* or empty throne.\* Appeals to the four thrones are rare.

Occupation.

The Jangams live by begging and on the offerings of the people; the Bánjigs and Shilvants are shopkeepers and money-lenders, and most of the Panchamsális are husbandmen. Lingayats seldom entered the army or the police before the war, when a double company was founded and attached to the 105th Mahrattas at Belgaum Depot. Previously not many were in Government service as clerks, but that is probably because they find agriculture, shopkeeping and money-lending pay better than clerkship. Of late more high class Lingayat youths have been entering Government service.

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. xxiii, pp. 236—8.

\* Here again the constant harping on the number five. The *Sinhásans* are given by Artal (op. cit. p. 209) as "Rambhapuri (Balehalli), Ujainpuri, Shri Shaila Parvat, Himavat Kedar and Kollipaki (Kashi)." The last is of course Benares.

Lingáyats are strict vegetarians, the staple food being Indian or Food. spiked millet, pulse, vegetables, onions, garlic, condiments, milk curds, and clarified butter, rice replacing the millets in the Mallád. As regards eating, a member of any one of the main divisions will eat in the house of any member of his own or of any higher division. None of the divisions below the Jangam eat in the house of any member of an inferior division. But in a field, in a rest house, or in any place except the host's house, so long as the host has used a new set of earthen cooking vessels, they will eat food cooked by the host even though he is of an inferior division. In a *math* or religious house any Lingáyat without question will eat bread which a Jangam has gathered in his begging. If the Jangam has brought it, it is all right, if cooked by any *linga* wearer. Though the rule is that a member of a lower division is allowed to eat with members of higher divisions in a religious house when a Jangam is present, this privilege is not granted to all classes who profess Lingáyatism, but only to the higher of them. In the same way there is no objection to any *Linga*-wearing man coming into a Lingáyat's house and seeing the food; but if a Musalmán, or a Marátha or anyone without a *linga* sees the food it must be thrown away. This rule applies only to food in one's own house; it does not apply to food in the field or in the rest-house.

It will be gathered from the foregoing sketch of the origin and present day social organization and customs of the Lingáyats <sup>General</sup> <sup>remark</sup> that the community is virtually an original casteless sect in process of reversion to a congeries of castes holding a common religion. It has been held that, in the 11th century, a movement was set on foot by Lakulisa, and spread abroad later by two Bráhmans, Basava and Rámayya, devotees of Shiva, to abolish the ceremonies and restrictions that fettered the intercourse between the different ranks of orthodox Hindu society of the period, and to establish a community on a basis of the equality of its members irrespective of sex, by means of the purifying worship of the one god Shiva. It seems clear that the movement found special favour in the eyes of the Jain traders of the period, who would have ranked as Vaishyas, below both Bráhman priest and Kshatriya warrior under the Hindu scheme of social precedence. The community encountered the hostility of Jains who remained unconverted, but clung tenaciously to its simple faith on the worship of Shiva and in his emblem the *linga*. We must assume the probability that the Bráhman converts, of whose existence we possess historical evidence, tended by degrees to assert for themselves social precedence as Ayyás or Janganás, i.e., the priests of the community, for which position their knowledge

and descent would give them special fitness. In time, indeed, they came to be regarded as the very incarnations of the god Shiva, and thus they were holy, imparting holiness, in a special degree to the water in which they had bathed their feet, known as *tirth*, so that it plays a prominent part to this day in the Lingayat ceremonies. Once the original notion of universal equality of rank had yielded to the priest a precedence incompatible with such equality, the way was prepared for the introduction of further social gradations, and the older members of the community commenced to claim over the later converts a precedence modelled on that which the priests had established against them. In such manner the essential doctrine of equality became completely undermined, and in the end gave place to certain rites and ceremonies as the test of Lingayat orthodoxy. Thus, when the more recent cases of caste conversion occurred, a section of a Hindu caste became Lingayat, not as the founders of the religion would have wished, by being admitted to a footing of equality on the common ground of the worship of Shiva and of his emblem the *linga*, but by investiture through certain rites and ceremonies with the *linga*, retaining their distinctive social status as a functional caste with which other Lingayats would neither marry or dine. It must be admitted that in case of most of the Lingayat sub-divisions the Jangam will take food in the house of the members. But here all trace of the original equality ceases; and the Lingayats of to-day present the curious and interesting spectacle of a religious sect broken into course of centuries into social fragments, of which the older sections remain essentially sectarian, and the more recent in origin possess the typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christianity in some parts of India, the social barriers of caste have proved too strong for the communal basis of the orthodox religion.

ADIBANJIGS, also called Arebánjigs, or Adbanjigs derive their name from *ádi* first and Banjigs, (see below), meaning the first trading Lingayats. They are Panchamsáli Lingayats with the *ashtavarna* rites. Their main calling is to trade in grain, cotton and other articles and to retail opium, hemp-flowers or *gánja* and hemp-water or *bháng*. In the Bijápur district they hold a few village headships.

BANJIGS from one of the largest of the sub-divisions of Lingayats. They derive their name from the Sanskrit *vanik* a trader, and are mostly traders, dealing in grain, spices, salt, oil, butter and molasses or sugar. They are also cloth-sellers, bankers, money-lenders

brokers and husbandmen. They are Panchamsáli Lingáyats with the *ashtavarna* rites. They have five main divisions :—

- (1) Shilvant or Chilmi-agni.
- (2) Athnikar or Holiáchibalki.
- (3) Dhulpávad.
- (4) Chalgeribalki.
- (5) Lokabalki.

Shilvants, meaning pure, are called Chilmi-agnis because they put a cloth over their water-pot when carrying it home. Holiáchibalkis derive their name from the Kanarese *holi* river and *achi* beyond and are commonly found in the towns south of the Krishna. Like the Shilvants, they put clothes over their water pots when carrying them home. Dhulpávads from the Sanskrit *dhuli* dust and *pád* foot, are so called, because they sprinkle their clothes with dust off a Jangam's feet. Chalgeribalkis derive their name from the Kanarese *chalgeri* village and *balki* people, their main occupation being husbandry. Lokabalki or Lokavant means of the people.

BASAVIS <sup>(1)</sup> or Lingáyat women devotees derive their name from Basava, whose devotees they chiefly are. They wear a silver *linga* box hanging from the neck and rub themselves with white cowdung ashes or *vibhuti*. Their main calling is to attend caste meetings and marriage and other ceremonies, to help women in performing religious rites, and to wave lighted lamps round the bride and bridegroom. But most of them act as courtezans.

CHATTERS are non-Panchamsáli Lingáyats entitled to the *ashtavarna* rites. They seem to be a branch of the Nágliks, though now they have no connection with the latter. They make and sell bodice clothes and also cultivate land.

JANGAMS, literally "moving," the Jangam being considered a human abode of the *linga*, are divided into *Virakts* or celibates, Sámán-yas or common Jangams, Ganácháris or managers and Mathpatis or beadles. *Virakts*, the highest class of Jangams, dedicate themselves to celibacy, and are not allowed to celebrate marriages. They are a comparatively small body and move about the country accompanied by their disciples. They stop at *maths* or religious houses, live on the offerings of the sect, let the hair and beard grow, and wear no

(1) As mentioned above only 7 persons returned as of this sub-caste in the 1901 Census. But this is almost certainly incorrect. Basavis probably return themselves by some other name.

cloth but the loincloth, a cap on their heads with a string of *rudrāksh* beads in it, and a long salmon-coloured coat falling to the ankles. They never intentionally look on the face of a woman. The *Sámánya Jangam* is the ordinary Jangam, who has had the *aitán* or initiation performed on him. He is a married man, who conducts marriages, begs, serves in a temple or lives by agriculture. When a Jangam goes begging he wears a garter of bells called *jang* below his right knee, and carries a cobra cane or *nágbet* staff. Besides the regular *Sámánya*s five classes of Jangam live by begging. The first of these is the *Kugimmaritandegalu*, who sits on a tree and rings a bell all day long; the second is the *Paháredkáyakdavru*, who begs from door to door, ringing a bell; the third is the *Mullaháyigekávyakdavru*, who, in the presence of Lingáyats, stands on a pair of wooden shoes, in whose soles are nails with their points up, and does not come out of the shoes till he is paid whatever sum he is pleased to ask; the fourth is the *Tekkikáyaktlavru*, who throws his arms round men and does not leave hold until he is paid something; the fifth is the *Mukakáyāk* that is the silent, who feigns dumbness. *Mathpatis* or beadles and *Ganácháris* or managers are Jangams who hold rent-free lands, and are considered rather inferior to the regular or *Sámánya* Jangams. They have not undergone the *aitán* or initiation. They sometimes marry with one another, but regular Jangams do not marry with them. Their duties are humble. The *Mathpati* brings for the Lingáyats *bel* (*Aegle marmelos*) leaves on Mondays, Thursdays and holidays, and the *Ganáchári* celebrates widow marriages, an office which the *Sámánya* Jangam refuses. To these functions the *Mathpati* adds the office of corpse dresser, and the *Ganáchári* the duties of a messenger who makes known the wishes of the *Virakt*, the head of the religious house. If a *Ganáchári* or *Mathpati* boy has the initiation or *aitán* performed on him he becomes a *Sámánya* Jangam and abandons his former duties. Jangams eat not only in the house of any member of the Lingáyat sect, but in the house of any *linga*-wearing member of any other caste, except Lingáyat Chalvádis or Mahárs.

MALLAVAS are a Lingáyat caste found in Belgaum, Dhárwár and the Kanara districts. The name Mallava is by some derived from *malnád*, meaning hilly country, where the Mallavas are said to have formerly resided. Other Lingáyats allege that they were called Mallavas or dirty people, because they did not adhere strictly to the rules of the Lingáyat religion. The Mallavas, on the other hand, style themselves *Virshaiva Kshatriyas*, basing their claim to be twice-born warriors on the position that they formerly occupied at Sonda<sup>(1)</sup>,

(1) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. xv, part II, p. 120. In the genealogical tree of the Sonda chiefs are found the pure Lingáyat names Basawalinga Raja and Madholinga.

Bilgi and Ikkeri, whose chiefs were of the Mallava caste. Buchanan describes how the ruling family at Kilidi, which afterwards moved to Ikkeri and Bednur, were originally the heads of five or six villages near Kilidi, and were of the Mallava caste.<sup>(1)</sup> One of them, Bhadracondi, entered the service of Krishnaráya of Vijayanagar, and assumed the title of Sadáshiva Náik. Evidence seems to show that the Mallavas were originally Jains, and were converted to Lingáyatism in the 14th and 15th century. They will still admit Jains into their caste, or at least did so until quite recent times.

There are five endogamous divisions of the caste who eat together, but do not intermarry. They are :—

1. Muskin Mallava.
2. Nir Mallava.
3. Balsad Mallava.
4. Kodag or Coorg Mallava.
5. Bandi or Gaudi Santán.

Of these, the Balsad and Coorg Mallavas are not found in this Presidency. The Muskin Mallavas take their name from the Kanarese *Mushik*, a cover or veil, the name having apparently originated in the custom of their women covering their faces like Musalmáns. Another custom peculiar to this division is that women must carry water on the waist, and not on the head. The violation of this rule is punished with excommunication. The Nir Mallavas (Kanarese *niru*, water) are so named because they cover their water-pots with a cloth when bringing water from a well. The Bandi or Gaudi Santán Mallavas are the offspring of Mallava widows and women who have gone astray, the division thus corresponding to the Kadu or bastard divisions of other castes. Of the three divisions of the Mallavas found in the Presidency, the Muskins are the social superiors of the other two.

The Mallavas claim the five usual *gotras* of the Lingáyats, viz., Nandi, Skanda, Vir, Bringi and Vrisha; but it is doubtful whether marriage is in any way affected by *gotras* so named. They have certain exogamous divisions named after the god worshipped by the section, such as—

Basava	Ishvar	Togarsi Mallappa
Gudda	Mailar	Virbhadra
Gutti	Nandi.	

(1) Buchanan's Mysore, III pp. 253-54.

of which the Gutti section is looked on as inferior, and marriage is not favoured with members of this section.

Mallavas are non-Panchamsáli Lingáyats entitled to the *ashtavarna* rites. Their priests are Jangams, but Bráhmans are also called in Dhárwár. They worship Shiva, Párvati, Ganpati, Basava and their *guru* or spiritual guide. Offerings of goats and fowls are made to Mariái through the medium of other persons. Bhutapa, Huliapa, Chawdi, Birupa, Jebapa are the powers, they think, that protect their farms. They are stones which are worshipped. Annually offerings of rice, plantains and even of food and of goats are made.

Most of the Mallavas are land-holders and *pátils* or village headmen. They own rice and sugarcane fields and betelnut gardens. None of them work as day labourers. Some are traders.

SAIBS are a class of Lingáyat courtezans, though nearly half described themselves as Hindus at the Census of 1901, and appear to have come from Gulburga in the Nizam's Dominions where some of their caste are still settled. The name is held by some to be a corruption of *Sáhib* and is the Hindustáni equivalent of *Náikin*, the local term for courtezans. But a more probable derivation is *Shaiva*, the letters V and B being interchangeable. They still eat and intermarry with the Saibs of Gulburga. Like Kalávants and other classes of courtezans, they recruit from all Hindu castes except the impure classes. Their surnames are Bhikshada and Parivarda. Families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. Good looking girls become prostitutes, the less favoured girls marry. Girls who are to become courtezans, when between 8 and 12 years old, are invested with anklets of small brass bells called *gage*. They are non-Panchamsáli Lingáyats entitled to the *ashtavarna* rites. Their religious teacher is the head of the Chitaldurg monastery.

The following occupations explain the nature of many of the subcastes shown on pp. 354-355 :--

Agasa	.. Washermen.
Ambig	.. Fishermen and ferrymen.
Badig	.. Carpenters.
Baligar	.. Copper and brass smiths.
Burud or Medar	.. Mat and basket makers and bamboo splitters.
Chalvádi or Holaya	.. Village watchmen and menials.
Dás or Deodás	.. Religious beggars.
Dhor	.. Tanners.

Ganigör	.. Oil-pressers.
Gauli	.. Milkmen.
Gavandi or Uppár	.. Masons.
Handevant	.. Husbandmen.
Helav	.. Beggars.
Hugar, Jeer, Guray, Malgár or Totigar.	Temple ministrants, musicians, flower sellers.
Ilgar or Kalál	.. Distillers and liquor sellers.
Jád, Nayakár, Koshti or Sáli	.. Weavers.
Kabbaligar	.. Fishermen, boatmen, palanquin bearers.
Káchári	.. Glass bangle-makers.
Kalávant	.. Dancers and singers.
Kammár	.. Blacksmiths.
Kudavakkal	.. Husbandmen.
Kumbhár	.. Potters.
Kuruba or Dhangar	.. Shepherds and wool weavers.
Kursáli	.. Weavers.
Lálgonda	.. Cultivators.
Nadig or Nhávi	.. Barbers.
Náglik or Bangar	.. Cotton thread dyers.
Nilgar	.. Dyers.
Raddi	.. Husbandmen.
Sada	.. Cultivators.
Samgár Jingar or Chamár	.. Leather workers.
Shiva-Shimpig	.. Tailors.
Sungar or Chunár	.. Masons.
Támboli	.. Betel-leaf sellers.
Tilári or Tiráli	.. Husbandmen.

**LINGAWANT.**—A synonym for Lingáyat.

**LODHAS** or Lodhis, numbering 1,585 (1901), including 802 males Name and  
and 783 females, are found principally in Ahmedabad, Káthiawár origin.  
and Pálanpur. A few families are found in other districts of Gujarát,  
and they have even penetrated in small numbers to the Deccan and  
Southern Marátha Country. The caste is well known in the Cen-  
tral and United Provinces. It has traditional connection with Ludhi-  
ana in the Punjab, and has been settled for a long time in Bundel-  
khand. From the extent to which the caste has assimilated local  
customs it seems probable that it came into Gujarát and Káthiawár